GWIR YN ERBYN Y BYD.

THE

CAMBRIAN JOURNAL;

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

THE

CAMBRIAN INSTITUTE.

CA GWR NA CHARO
Y WLAD A'I MACCO.

VOLUME FOR [illegible].

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R. MASON, HIGH STREET.
LONDON: J. RUSSELL SMITH, 36, SOHO SQUARE.

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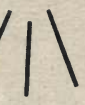

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R. MASON, PRINTER, HIGH STREET, TENBY.

PREFACE.

When the Cambrian Institute was founded in 1854 by the late Ab Ithel with the aid of a few learned and patriotic Welshmen, the principal object he had in view thereby, was to unite in feeling and action his fellow-countrymen not only in the Principality, but also wherever resident in any other part of the world, with individuals of other nations who were interested in the study and promotion of Celtic literature, with the express intention of preserving all remains of archæological value, as well as of publishing the unedited historical and legendary records of the ancient Cymry, the poetical and musical compositions of their bards, and other productions of acknowledged importance. The Institute, without adopting the cause of any particular class or creed, either political or religious, was designed also to be fully alive to the imperative necessity of using active measures to promote the intellectual, scientific and social improvement of the Welsh community. And in order to carry into effectual operation the objects thus proposed the *Cambrian Journal* was at once started under its auspices and published as a quarterly periodical. A

numerous and influential roll of members was secured, promises of literary support from intending contributors were volunteered, and the stores of some ancient Welsh manuscripts thrown open. For a time the movement progressed satisfactorily and seemed to predict undoubted success. But after a while the number of members began to decrease by death and otherwise, contributors of articles grew weary and indifferent, the repositories of historic and other documents became inaccessible, and the *Journal* consequently for lack of adequate patronage soon fell into decline. Under the ban of such withering influences it is deemed unadvisable at present to persist in the continuance of its publication. But from this announcement it should not be inferred that the labours of the INSTITUTE are altogether and for ever concluded. There still remains abundance of work in connection with the development of the literature of the Cymry, for all the members who are competent and disposed to undertake it, some of which it may not be out of place here to specify.

Materials for the history of seven of the Welsh counties have yet to be collected, and the historical and topographical description of the remaining six already published, to be brought down to the present time. For upwards of a hundred and fifty years the pedigrees of Welsh families have been almost entirely neglected. A

genealogical and heraldic dictionary of the peers, baronets and landed gentry of the Principality remains to be compiled. The history of the Welsh sees of Bangor, Llandaff and St. David's is unwritten. For the continuance of Browne Willis's Survey of the four Cathedrals of Wales materials exist in the diocesan registries, but are inaccessible. The bibliography of the Cymry for the present century is without a Guide. Prize Essays and Poems elicited by the National Eisteddfod are unpublished. The productions of many of the mediæval Welsh bards are perishing unknown. Several extensive and valuable collections of manuscripts have been utterly destroyed by fire and damp. A similar fate will inevitably await those which are still extant, unless some effectual plan can be devised and adopted for their immediate rescue and preservation. With this enumeration before us of literary work yet to be achieved by Welsh scholars, towards the accomplishment of which the *Journal* might be of considerable assistance, it is with sincere regret that we find ourselvess in a manner compelled to discontinue its publication; but, as regards our determination to promote the cultivation of Celtic literature, to the members of the INSTITUTE *supremum vale vix dicamus.*

I NI CYMRU AM BYTH.

THE

CAMBRIAN JOURNAL.

ALBAN EILIR.

(VERNAL EQUINOX.)

THE CELTS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

AN APPEAL TO THE LIVING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CELTIC RACE.

By CHARLES DE GAULLE.

Translated from the original French by J. DAVENPORT MASON.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the following history of the "Celts of the Nineteenth Century," there is much that will interest the members of the CAMBRIAN INSTITUTE, coming, as it does, from a learned foreigner, who is evidently actuated by a desire to promote the welfare of the Celtic people; still there are many of his remarks, more especially those on religion, and with regard to the union of the Welsh, Irish, and Scotch with the English, and of the Bretons with the French, with which we do not agree. These unions, which have existed for ages, are required by the geographical position of the several countries, and a rupture now would be attended with the most disastrous consequences to all concerned. The objectionable passages are not given in the translation, as they are repugnant to our feelings of religion and loyalty.

But if they be united for the purpose of being governed by the same laws, and for the convenience of trade, yet such unions need not and ought not to interfere with the cultivation of their respective national literature, or with the preservation of their ancient languages, usages, and traditions. Each nation, in these respects, should cherish by all means a feeling of independence and distinctive nationality. This would make them anxious to advance with the age in intelligence, to develop the various resources of their country, and to render themselves prosperous and happy. In order to make the article more complete, a few copious extracts are given from the works of Sir Gardner Wilkinson, Professor Rawlinson, Professor Max Müller, and Tom Taylor, to all of whom we beg to offer our acknowledgments and thanks.

The following letter from the author will form an appropriate introduction to the English translation of his interesting article. The translated notes are printed in Roman type, and the original ones in italic:—

To Mr. R. Mason, Editor[1] *of the Cambrian Journal.*

Sir,—A great number of Bretons of Armorica, snatched from a too long sleep by the persevering exertions of some patriotic writers, now feel the necessity of labouring seriously to preserve and make fruitful what remains to them of the patrimony of their forefathers.

One of the first results arising from this rousing of the national spirit amongst them, has been a great wish, on their part, to draw nearer the other fractions of the Celtic race, and to establish between them bonds of friendship as intimate and frequent as possible. Above all, they turn their attention to Wales, the mother and instructress of Armorica. There they know exist, side by side with the Saxons, a people, brothers in blood and in language, *the multitude of Bretons beyond seas,* "Car[2] Bretoned tre-mor," as one of their popular poets styles them.

[1] *The Editor of the* Cambrian Journal *is the Rev. Thomas James, of Netherthong, near Huddersfield.*

[2] *Car, in Armoric, does not mean a multitude, but according to Legonidec it signifies love, amity, affection, or a parent, or friend. Lhuyd, however, in his* Armoric-English Vocabulary, *renders it a kinsman; whereas Dr. Davies affirms that it signified a friend, both in Armoric, and anciently among the Welsh; but in modern usage the*

Persuaded that association alone can give any power to their efforts, down to this time too often isolated, the patriotic Bretons seek to extend and unite themselves to reach the desired goal.

The principal instrument in this work of preservation, of regeneration, and improvement, is, at present, the BREUZIEZ BREIZ (or *Breuriez diwallerien iez Breiz izel*). This new BRETON ASSOCIATION, at first limited to an unassuming confraternity of bards, has increased by degrees; it now seeks to widen its limits, and to extend its means of action. M. le Vicomte de la Villemarqué, (*Mac'htiern Kermarker*,) is its president, (*Penn-Sturier*). It was he who persuaded me to write to you, Sir, as much in his name as in that of all the members of the BREUZIEZ BREIZ, and to ask of you your advice and assistance in forwarding the union and mutual understanding which we would wish should lead to a successful termination.

I have just published, in the *Revue de Bretagne et de Vendée*, two articles, in which I have expressed wishes, as much for Brittany as for all Celtic countries, which I have every reason to believe are shared by the greater number of my compatriots in *Llydaw*. These two articles have just been united into one pamphlet, which I have the honour to send with this letter. May I entreat you, Sir, to review, and give an account of it, if possible, in the *Cambrian Journal?* I should be happy that our Welsh brethren should have a testimony of our admiration for the great things which they have done, and of our ardent wish to work in concert with them, for the defence of our common patrimony.

M. de la Villemarqué requested me to ask a boon of you, Sir, which I should never have dared even to think of myself. He would wish that my little essay should be translated into English, and inserted in the *Cambrian Journal.* I cannot tell how greatly I should be indebted to you, if my essay should obtain such an honour (thanks to the approbation of the CAMBRIAN INSTITUTE); above all, if it could by that means contribute more powerfully to hasten the realization of our projects of union and mutual understanding. Following the counsel of my learned patron and friend, M. de la Villemarqué, I have also sent a pamphlet to His Highness Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, expressing in it a similar wish.

I purpose to publish, at a later period, a work more extensive,

term (câr) is employed by Welshmen to denote a kinsman, or a relative. In Cornish it signified a friend, an ally, a dear neighbour, a kinsman, a cousin, also a father, which Williams, in his Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum, *states is the most common meaning in Armoric.* —ED. CAMB. JORU.

and as complete as possible, on the *Celts of the Nineteenth Century;* and I earnestly wish, for truth's sake, not less than for patriotism, to collect as much information about the Celtic race as it would be possible to obtain. I shall receive, then, with deep gratitude, all communications, or mere indications of sources to consult, which our kind compatriots beyond seas are willing to make on that subject.

Will you receive, Sir, the expression of my most respectful feelings,

CHARLES DE GAULLE,
(Bartz Bro-C'hall,)
Secretary to the Breuriez Breiz,
Grande Rue, No. 134, Vaugirard, Paris.

P.S.—Persons wishing to make communications on the relation proposed to be established between Wales (or other Celtic countries beyond seas) and Armorica, are requested to have the kindness to address their letters to *M. Charles de Gaulle,* (Secretary of the BREURIEZ BREIZ,) Grande Rue, 134, Vaugirard, Paris; or to M. le Vicomte de la Villemarqué, member of the Institute, (in winter) Rue des Beaux-Arts, No. 17, à Paris, (and in summer) à Keransker, près Kemperlé, Finistère.

All communications, other than letters or newspapers, should be addressed, to avoid expense, to Eugène Cotte, at M.M. Gaudet, frères, à Paris, and sent on that account to Messrs. Pickford & Co., Liverpool, or Gresham Street, London, correspondents of Gaudet, frères.

The people of Brittany being closely allied to those of Wales, a brief account of them, their literature, and antiquities, may not be unacceptable to our readers; for which purpose we extract the following passages from Tom Taylor's *Ballads and Songs of Brittany,* taken from the *Barsaz-Briez* of Vicomte Hersart de la Villemarqué—a valuable collection, ably and pleasantly translated:—

"The Brittany which still retains so much of its ancient tongue, national character, and local usages, as to separate its population from that of the rest of France even more distinctly than the Welsh or the Highlanders are separated from the English, comprehends the three departments of Finistère, Morbihan, and the Côtes du Nord. . . . . Till within the last forty years mass used to be served once a year from a boat on the Menhirien (or Druid stones), which at low spring tides rose

above the sea, and were believed to be the altars of the buried city, while all the fishing-boats of the bay brought a devout population of worshippers to this Christian sacrifice at Druid altars. . . . . Vannes, which occupies the southern coast of Brittany, is the most thoroughly Celtic portion of the country. It is as thickly covered with cromlec'hs, lichvens, peulvans, menhirs, barrows, and dolmen,[3] as Léon is—or rather was before the Revolution—with Calvaries, bone-houses, wayside chapels, and shrines of the Virgin. On the heath of Lanvaux rises a forest of 120 *menhirs:* Trehorentec is a city of the dead, swelling with *barrows* innumerable: but all the Druidic monuments of Vannes, and of the world, not excepting Stonehenge, sink into secondary rank by the side of Carnac, with its eleven parallel ranges of *peulvans,* stretching for a length of more than two leagues to the horizon—huge blocks, many planted with the narrow end downwards, and some twenty feet in height. . . . . The national character and local circumstances of the Breton have singularly favoured the preservation and oral transmission of their popular poetry. They have always been a people set apart by blood, language, usages, and feelings, from the rest of France. The fusion of Celtic with the neighbouring nationality, which has effaced almost all traces of the race (except a few words of common use and names of places) in . . . . . Devon, and Cornwall, and has for centuries been actively at work even in Wales itself, has only begun to operate in Brittany since the Revolution, and at every step has been fiercely resisted. The upholding of national usages, faiths, ceremonies, traditions, and glories, has been ever a religion in Brittany; and for the mass of the people song has been the sole instrument of their preservation. Manners here still retain their antique stamp—often a rude one, but often also beautiful and pathetic. . . . . Ballads and canticles that were sung in the tenth, twelfth, and fourteenth centuries, are still handed down, by recitation, from father to son, from mother to child, among the peasants, beggars, and wandering 'crowders,' who have taken the place of the old bards. . . . . The Vicomte de la Villemarqué, the accomplished editor of the 'Barsaz-Briez' (or poetic treasury of Brittany), is a Breton, of old and noble family, inspired by that ardent love of his country and race which is the dominant feeling of the Breton. His mother—still I believe alive—many years ago

"[3] *Cromlec'hs* (in French) are Druidic circles; *lichvens,* two vertical stones with a third laid across; *menhirs* and *peulvans,* single stones set up on end; *barrows,* burial mounds; and *dolmen,* broad flat stones resting on smaller stone supports."

began collecting the ballads and songs of the country, and he continued the work, aided not only by his own active researches, but by the clergy and resident nobles and gentry, without whose help—beyond the range of his own family influence—he would have found it impossible to overcome the ingrained distrust of the Breton peasant. He informs us in his preface that his habit has been to obtain all the versions he could of the same ballad, and the only liberty he has taken has been in choosing between more and less complete versions—proceeding on the sound theory that the fullest in detail and most picturesque in colour were likely to be the oldest. The result has been a body of ballads with as distinct and consistent an impress of their time upon them as the very best preserved examples in the Border Minstrelsy. . . . . All the Breton ballads are rhymed, the older ones being alliterative as well. The commonest metres are a shorter iambic one of eight feet, in couplets or triplets (in the older examples), and a longer anapæstic one in quatrains."

DEDICATION.

To M. le Vicomte Hersart de la Villemarqué, Member of the Institute.

Sir,—It was in the perusal of your works that I acquired a taste and the rudiments of my knowledge concerning the Celts.

No one more than yourself has united, to a general knowledge of the Celtic history and language, the love of that noble race whose history this book is about to relate, and which still preserves its language.

No one more than yourself has sought to make use of the study of the past as an amelioration of the present time, and a safeguard for the future, and no one, in fact, will have devoted his time to the dearest interests of the Celts with more advantage.

You have given me permission to dedicate to you these few pages, an humble and pressing appeal addressed to our compatriots in the two Brittanies. I have endeavoured to implore them to unite their efforts while yet there is time, to arrest the flood which rises and threatens to carry away our language, customs, traditions, and everything which down to this time has made our character and mode of life distinct, in the midst of foreign nations. It is to the instructor that this first essay of his pupil is very naturally dedicated. Thanks to your name, my voice, however weak it may be, will reach, I trust, those by whom I wish that it should be heard and understood.

Charles de Gaulle.
Barz Bro-C'hall.

THE CELTS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

I WISH to say a few words about the present state, and possible future, of a people which represent, in all its purity, a race to which a great number of the inhabitants of Western Europe belong. This people, which hitherto foreign conquest has not been able to absorb, preserve down to the present time a considerable part of the customs, language, and spirit of their forefathers. This patrimony, kept so piously, has nevertheless already received many blows; and unceasingly menaced with its loss, they should now more than ever watch over its preservation. In this noble race, so renowned for its invincible attachment to independence, it would not seem that patriotism needed an excitement; and, in fact, it would be very difficult to find anything more lively or more touching. But is this patriotism as generally active and enlightened as could be desired? Is it not to be wished that the exertions which it inspires, though often excellent, should be better concerted? I think that it would not be uninteresting to pass in review our grounds of fear and hope, to point out as clearly as possible where the danger lies, and what measures ought to be taken to guard against it.

I have no authority, I know, for such a task; but my compatriots would not have been willing, on this occasion, for me to have taken counsel but of my patriotism. In a camp, surprised by a night attack, where each one struggles singly against the enemy, one does not ask what rank he holds, of him who raises the standard and utters the rallying cry.

The name, dear to every Celt, which I have placed at the head of these pages, gives me a sure hope of a hearing. My ambition limits itself simply to attract the attention of competent men to some practical resolutions. My end would be completely attained if the insufficiency even of this little work should give an opportunity to a more influential voice to raise itself in the defence of a cause in which I am the last soldier.

I.

"Sæpe expugnaverunt me a juventute mea, dicat nunc Israël;
"Sæpe expugnaverunt me a juventute mea, et enim non potuerunt mihi."
—*Ps.* xxviii. 1, 2. (English Version, cxxix. 1, 2.)
"Misericordiæ Domini, quia non sumus consumpti."—*Jérém.* i. *Heth.*

I.—Whilst the elder sons of the Aryan race descended the declivities of the Hindu-Kush, to the song of the Vedic hymns, other tribes of the same family, also quitting the common birth-place of the Indo-European races,[4] marched

[4] *From the Second Series of Max Müller's admirable and learned* Lectures on the Science of Language, *we extract the following passages, which indisputably prove that the Celtic and Sanscrit languages had one common origin. We wish particularly to draw attention to the Welsh word for God,* Duw, *which, it will be seen, is nearly identical with the Sanscrit:—*

"After some time, it was discovered that not only the radical elements of all these languages which are called Aryan or Indo-European —not only their numerals, pronouns, prepositions, and grammatical terminations—not only their household words, such as father, mother, brother, daughter, husband, brother-in-law, cow, dog, horse, cattle, tree, ox, corn, mill, earth, sky, water, stars, and many hundreds more, were identically the same, but that each possessed the elements of a mythological phraseology, displaying the palpable traces of a common origin."—(pp. 404, 5.)

"I shall endeavour to make this clear by at least one instance, and I shall select for it the most important name in the religion and mythology of the Aryan nations, the name of *Zeus,* the god of gods (*theòs theôn*), as Plato calls him. Let us consider, first of all, the fact, which cannot be doubted, and which, if fully appreciated, will be felt to be pregnant with the most startling and the most instructive lessons of antiquity—the fact, I mean, that Zeus, the most sacred name in Greek mythology, is the same word as *Dyaus** in Sanskrit, *Jovis*† or *Ju* in *Ju*piter in Latin, *Tiw* in Anglo-Saxon, preserved in *Tiwsdæg, Tuesday,* the day of the Eddic god *Týr; Zio* in Old High-German. This word was framed once, and once only: it was not borrowed by the Greeks from the Hindus, nor by the Romans and Germans from the Greeks. It must have existed before the ancestors of

* *Dyaus* in Sanskrit is the nominative singular; *Dyu* the inflectional base. I use both promiscuously, though it would be better always to use *Dyu.*

† Jovis in the nom. occurs in the verse of Ennius, giving the names of the twelve Roman deities:—

Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius, Jovi', Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.

Dius in Dius Fidius, i. e. Ζεὺς πίστιος, belongs to the same class of words. Cf. Hartung, *Religion der Römer,* ii. 44.

towards the setting sun, as far as there was any soil on which they could advance, and only stayed their march at the extremity of the continent, where the waves of ocean presented an impassable barrier.

Arrived at the extremity of the Old World, these Asiatic emigrants, giving themselves the name of Celts,[5] and perhaps that of Eres, or Aryans, scattered themselves in all directions, with a force of expansion possessed by youth alone. They peopled Gaul and the British Isles, occupied the two banks of the Rhine, spread themselves over a great part of Spain, and established themselves in the north of Italy, where they were one day to come in contact with the Romans.[6]

those primeval races became separate in language and religion; before they left their common pastures, to migrate to the right hand and to the left, till the hurdles of their sheepfolds grew into the walls of the great cities of the world. Here, then, in this venerable word, we may look for some of the earliest religious thoughts of our race, expressed and enshrined within the imperishable walls of a few simple letters. What did *Dyu* mean in Sanscrit? How is it used there? What was the root which could be forced to reach to the highest aspirations of the human mind? We should find it difficult to discover the radical or predicative meaning of *Zeus* in Greek; but *dyaus* in Sanskrit tells its own tale. It is derived from the same root which yields the verb *dyut*, and this verb means *to beam*. A root of this rich and expansive meaning would be applicable to many conceptions: the dawn, the sun, the sky, the day, the stars, the eyes, the ocean, and the meadow, might all be spoken of as bright, gleaming, smiling, blooming, sparkling. But in the actual and settled language of India, *dyu*, as a noun, means principally *sky* and *day*. Before the ancient hymns of the Veda had disclosed to us the earliest forms of Indian thought and language, the Sanskrit noun *dyu* was hardly known as the name of an Indian deity, but only as a feminine, and as the recognised term for sky."—(pp. 425, 6.)

See also Dr. Meyer on the "Celtic Languages," Cambrian Journal, 1854, *p.* 11; *and, in the same Volume, Articles by other Writers, pp.* 182, 261, 365; *ibid.*, 1862, *p.* 153.—TRANSLATOR.

[5] *See "Traditionary Annals of the Cymry," by Ab Ithel,* Cambrian Journal, 1854, *pp.* 105, 221; *also,* 1855, *p.* 83; *"Celtic History,"* Cambrian Journal, 1858, *pp.* 67, 81; *and "Primitive or Japhetic Europe—its Race, Language, and Topography,"* Cambrian Journal, 1862, *p.* 97.—TRANSLATOR.

[6] *Perhaps the best concise account of the Migrations of the Cymric Race is given by Professor Rawlinson, in his* Herodotus, Appen-

Want of cohesion and agreement dismembered the Celtic race. It is known how these tribes, too often dis-

dix to Book IV. pp. 183–7, *from which we extract the following passages* [TRANSLATOR]:—

"1. That a people known to their neighbours as Cimmerii, Gimiri,* or (probably) Gomerim, attained to considerable power in Western Asia and Eastern Europe, within the period indicated by the date B.C. 800–600, or even earlier, is a fact which can scarcely be said to admit of a doubt. If the information gained by Herodotus in Scythia were considered as not sufficiently trustworthy for the establishment of such a conclusion, yet the confirmation which his statements derive from Homer, from Æschylus, from Callinus, from Aristotle, and from geographical nomenclature, must be held to remove all uncertainty on the point. The Cimmerians of Homer have not indeed a very definite locality: they dwell 'at the furthest limit of the ocean stream, immersed in darkness, and beyond the ken of the light-giving sun,'†—words which might perhaps be understood of a region outside the Pillars of Hercules; but considering the condition of Greek geographical knowledge and Greek navigation in Homer's day, it is far more likely that he intended by them some part of the northern coast of the Black Sea.‡ Here Æschylus places Cimmeria§ in close proximity to the Palus Mæotis and the Bosphorus; and here in the time of Herodotus were still existing a number of names, recalling the fact of the former settlement in these

* The ethnic name of *Gimiri* first occurs in the Cuneiform records of the time of Darius Hystaspes, as the Semitic equivalent of the Arian name *Saka* (Σάκαι). The nation spoken of contained at this time two divisions, the Eastern branch, named *Humurga* (Ἀμύργιοι of Herodotus and Hellanicus), and the *Tigrakhuda*, or 'archers,' who were conterminous with the Assyrians. Whether at the same time these *Gimiri* or *Saka* are really Cymric Celts we cannot positively say. Josephus identified the גֹּמֶר of Genesis with the Galati of Asia Minor (Ant. Jud. i. 6), in evident allusion to the ethnic title of Cymry, which they, as so many other Celtic races, gave themselves. But it must be observed, that the Babylonian title of *Gimiri*, as applied to the Sacæ, is not a vernacular but a foreign title, and that it may simply mean 'the tribes' generally, corresponding thus to the Hebrew גּוֹיִם and the Greek Πάμφυλοι. In this case it would prove nothing concerning the ethnic character of the race designated by it.

"† Odyss. xi. 13–22.

Ἥ δ' ἐς πείραθ' ἵκανε βαθυῤῥόου Ὠκεανοῖο·
Ἔνθα δὲ Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν δῆμός τε πόλις τε,
Ἠέρι καὶ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένοι· οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοὺς
Ἠέλιος φαέθων καταδέρκεται ἀκτίνεσσιν, κ.τ.λ.

"‡ Comp. Eustath. ad Hom. Od. loc. cit. and Riccii Dissert. Homeric. p. 432. See also Mr. Gladstone's Homer and the Homeric Age, vol. iii. p. 294.

"§ Prom. Vinct. 748–750.

united, or even rivals, fell successively under the Roman yoke, and how the greater number of them, having

regions of the Cimmerian nation.‖ The Greek colonists of the various towns planted upon the northern coast of the Black Sea, in the seventh and eighth centuries before our era, could not fail to form an acquaintance with the inhabitants of those parts, and would spread the knowledge of them among their countrymen. Further, there are grounds for believing that during the period of which we are speaking, frequent invasions of the countries towards the south were made by this same people, who, crossing the Danube and the Thracian Bosphorus, sometimes alone, sometimes in combination with plundering Thracian tribes,¶ carried their arms far and wide over Asia Minor, and spread the terror of their name throughout the whole of that fertile region. Of one at least of these incursions the poet Callinus appears to have been a witness.* It was universally recognised by the Greeks that these incursions proceeded from a people dwelling north of the Danube, in the tract between that river and the Tanais, and there seems no reason to doubt this location.

"From the Cimmerians of this region it appears to have been that certain permanent settlements of the same race in Asia Minor were derived. Sinôpé, on occasion of one of their raids, was seized and occupied,† while probably on another the town of Antandros fell into their possession.‡ In the first-mentioned of these two places the Cimmerians were after a while superseded by Greek colonists; but it is conjectured, with some reason,§ that they still, under the name of Chalybes (or 'Iron-workers'), remained the principal race in the vicinity. In Antandros they retained their position for a century,‖ when the Æolians recovered it from them.

"Further, there is evidence to show that more to the east, in Armenia and Central Persia, a race known nearly by the same name existed about this same time—a race whom we may *probably* connect with the Cimmerians of our author. The Prophet Ezekiel, who writes

"‖ Herodotus mentions, besides the Cimmerian Bosphorus and a Cimmerian Ferry, some Cimmerian forts or castles and a tract called Cimmeria (iv. 12). Hecateus spoke of a town Cimmeris (Fr. 2). Strabo has a 'Mons Cimmericus' (ὄρος Κιμμέριον) in Taurica, a 'Vicus Cimmericus' (κώμη Κιμμερική) on the Asiatic side of the Straits of Kertch, and an old town "Cimmericum" (vii. p. 447, and xi. p. 721).

"¶ The Treres especially. See the Essays appended to Vol. i. Essay i. pp. 369–372.

"* See Callinus, Fr. 2, and comp. the remarks of Bach, pp. 9–13.

"† Herod. iv. 12.

"‡ Aristot. Fr. 190.

"§ See Grote's Greece, vol. iii. p. 336. This connection is perhaps implied in the Χάλυβος Σκυθῶν ἄποικος of Æschylus (Sept. c. Th. 725).

"‖ Aristot. l. s. c.

already become accustomed to foreign slavery from the time of the great invasion, only changed their civilised

about B.C. 600, speaks of Gomer as a nation,¶ and couples it with Togarmah, which he places in 'the north quarter,' *i. e.* Armenia; and similarly the Armenian historians speak of *Gamir* as the ancestor of their Haichian race of kings.* It is also very remarkable that in the Achæmenian inscriptions the Sacan or Scythic population, which was widely spread over the Persian empire, receives in the Babylonian transcripts the name of *Gimiri*,† which looks as if this were the Semitic equivalent for the Arian name of *Saka* or Scyths. Perhaps both names orginally meant 'nomads' or 'wanderers,' and only came in course of time to be used as ethnic appellatives. It is clear, however, that by Herodotus the term 'Cimmerian' is used distinctly in an ethnic sense; and the point to be now considered is, who these Cimmerians were, to what ethnic family they belonged, and whether they can be identified with any still existing race. When these questions have been settled, it will be interesting to trace the history and migrations of a people which has an antiquity of above twenty-five hundred years, and has spread from the steppes of the Ukraine to the mountains of Wales.

"2. To build an ethnographical theory upon a mere identity of name is at all times, it must be allowed, a dangerous proceeding. The Jazyges of modern Hungary are a completely different race from the Jazyges Metanastæ who in ancient times occupied the very same country; the Wends are distinct from the Veneti, the Persian Germanii from the Germans, the Iberi of Spain from those of Georgia—yet still identity of name, even alone, is an argument which requires to be met, and which, unless met by positive objections, establishes a presumption in favour of connection of race. Now certainly there is the very closest possible resemblance between the Greek name Κιμμέριοι and the Celtic *Cymry;* and the presumption thus raised, instead of having objections to combat, is in perfect harmony with all that enlightened research teaches of the movements of the races which gradually peopled Europe.

"3. The Cimmerians, when the Scythians crossed the Tanais, and fell upon them from the east, must have gradually retreated westward. The hordes which from time to time have issued from Asia, and exerted a pressure upon the population of Europe, have uniformly driven the previous inhabitants before them in that direction.‡ Wave has followed wave, and the current, with the exception of an occa-

"¶ Ezek. xxxviii. 6. 'Gomer and all his bands: the house of Togarmah of the north quarters, and all his bands: and many people with thee.'

"* Mos. Choren. i. 11, sub fin.

"† See Sir H. Rawlinson's Memoir on the Babylonian and Assyrian Inscriptions in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, vol. xiv. part i. p. xxi. and compare above, note * on § 1.

"‡ See Niebuhr's Researches, &c., p. 52.

for uncivilized masters. It is known how they lost, in the new organization of Europe, not only all their mode

sional eddy,§ has set constantly from east to west. If the Cimmerians therefore fled westward about B.C. 650–600, where did they settle, and under what name are they next met with in history? Herodotus knows but of three nations inhabiting central and western Europe—the Sigynnes,‖ the Cynetians,¶ and the Celts.* Of these the Sigynnes and Cynetians, weak tribes who so soon disappear altogether from history, can scarcely be the great nation of the Cimmerii, which, until driven from the Ukraine by the force of the Scythian torrent, was wont to extend its ravages over large tracts of Asia Minor.† If then we are to find the Cimmerii, driven westward B.C. 650–600, among the known nations of central or western Europe in B.C. 450–30, we must look for them among the Celts. Now the Celts had an unvarying tradition that they came from the east;‡ and it is a fact, concerning which there can be no question, that one of the main divisions of the Celtic people has always borne the name of Cymry as its special national designation.§ Celts were undoubtedly the primitive inhabitants of Gaul, Belgium, and the British Islands—possibly also of Spain and Portugal. In all these countries Cymry are found either as the general Celtic population, or as a leading section of it.‖ These Cymry, or Cimbri (as the Romans called them,¶) play on

"§ Such as the Cimmerian inroad into Asia by the Caucasus, and the after wanderings of the Gauls.

"‖ Herod. v. 9. ¶ Ibid. iv. 49. * Ibid. ii. 33, and iv. 49.

"† See Appendix to Book i. Essay i. 'On the Chronology and Early History of Lydia,' pp. 369, et seqq.

"‡ Prichard's Physical History of Mankind, vol. iii. ch. 3; Amm. Marcell. xv. 9.

"§ Niebuhr's conclusion, from an elaborate analysis of all the materials which can be brought to bear on the early history of the Celtic people (Hist. of Rome, vol. ii. p. 520, E. T.), is, that 'the two nations, the Cymry and the Gael, may appropriately be comprised under the common name of Celts.'

"‖ The Celts of the Spanish peninsula seem to have been Cimbri, for, as Niebuhr shows (l. s. c.), they formed the bulk of the Gauls who invaded Italy, and these are expressly said to have been of the Cimbric branch (Diodor. Sic. v. 32). The Belgæ were exclusively Cimbrians, as also were the inhabitants of northern Gaul, who were supposed to have been British immigrants. In the British Islands, Cimbric Celts (Belgæ), at the time of Cæsar's landing, occupied the south coast (Bell. Gall. v. 12).

"¶ Strabo (vii. p. 426) and Tacitus (German. 37) speak of the Cimbri as Germans; but this is probably a mistake, consequent upon their holding large tracts east of the Rhine, which was considered to separate Gaul from Germany. Diodorus, who declares them to have been Gauls or Celts, probably follows the excellent authority of Posidonius (see Niebuhr's Rom. Hist. vol. ii. p. 520, note 1157, E. T.). Appian also identifies the Cimbri with the Celts (De Bell. Illyr. p. 758. Κελτοῖς τοῖς Κίμβροις λεγομένοις). The whole subject is well discussed by Dr. Prichard (Physical Hist. of Mankind, vol. iii. ch. 3, § 8).

of life as a nation, but also a considerable part of their distinctive character, and even the name in which their fathers had gloried.

II.—What has become of this race so eager to follow its ideal of military glory and distant adventures? Has it disappeared for ever, at least as a people, having a separate existence and cognizance of itself?

Four lesser nations in Europe still claim, at the present time, the name of Celts. Two of these belong to the Gaelic branch, namely, the Irish[7] and Scotch—those of

several occasions an important part in history: notices of them meet us constantly as we trace the progress of the European peoples; and in more than one place they have left their name to the country of their occupation as an enduring mark of their presence in it.* Though the march of events, and especially the pressure upon them of the great Gothic or Teutonic race, has for the most part wiped out at once their nationality, their language, and their name, yet they continue to form the substratum of the population in several large European countries,† while in certain favoured situations they remain to the present day unmixed with any other people, retaining their ancient tongue unchanged, and, at least in one instance,‡ their ancient appellation. The identity of the Cymry of Wales with the Cimbri of the Romans seems worthy of being accepted as a historic fact upon the grounds stated by Niebuhr and Arnold.§ The historical connection of these latter with the Cimmerii of Herodotus has strong probabilities, and the opinion of Posidonius,‖ in its favour; but cannot, it must be admitted, in the strict sense of the word, be proved."

[7] Together with the inhabitants of the Isle of Man, who speak a Celtic dialect.

"* Wales still continues to be known as *Cambria*, and one of our northern counties as *Cumber*-land. In France *Cambrai* and (possibly) *Quimper* are a legacy of the Cymry. Spain has a small town, *Cambrilla*, and Portugal a city, *Coimbra*, relics, probably, of the same people. In like manner the Cimmerii left their name to the Tauric peninsula, which has continued to be known as the *Crimea* and *Crim*-Tartary to the present day.

"† As (Michelet, Hist. de France, vol. i. ch. iii.) France, Belgium, and Lombardy.

"‡ The Cymric language is still spoken by the Bretons and the Welsh. The latter call themselves 'Cymry.' I am not aware if the name is in use among the former.

"§ Hist. of Rome, vol. i. pp. 521–9.

"‖ Fr. 75. ὁ Κιμμέριος Βόσπορος οἷον Κιμβρικὸς, Κιμμερίους τοὺς Κιμβρους ὀνομασάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Compare Plut. Vit. Mar. c. ii. τῶν βαρβάρων, Κιμμερίων μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τότε δὲ Κίμβρων προσαγορευομένων."

the Highlands at least; and the two others to the Breton or Cymrian branch, the Welsh and Armoricans. The natives of Cornwall, in Great Britain, who till lately have preserved their national language, might be added to these.[8] A woman of a hundred years old died at the commencement of this century; with her last breath was closed the only mouth in the world which could speak the Cornish language.[9]

The analogy of languages and traditions, a certain style of wit which they have in common, often even a certain resemblance in the features,[1] loudly proclaim their near relationship. The division of the Gaels into the Irish and Scotch, and that of the Bretons into the Welsh and the Armoricans, took place at a comparatively recent period. The separation of the Gaels from the Bretons is more ancient; but lapse of time has not yet effaced the traces of a common origin. The branches have scattered themselves before the boughs, but branches and boughs are equally of the same stock.[2]

III.—Are these people, or rather these ruins of a noble race, to disappear for ever, as formerly the "Semites"[3] of Tyre and Carthage vanished from the world's stage,

[8] See *Manuscrits des Anciens Bretons* of M. de la Villemarqué. Paris, 1856, p. 41.

[9] It is proposed to raise a monument to her memory. *La Science du Langage*, by M. Max Müller, p. 76 of his French translation.

[1] "Holy nature attests us in writing sublime
On heart and on visage the same."
S. Ferguson, *Adieu to Brittany.*
Revue de Bretagne et de Vendée, January, 1864, p. 8.

[2] Recent works show that, at the time of the Gallic independence, the division of our race into two great families was much more limited than would be believed, from the theory popularized by Augustin Thierry. The Celtic names which have been transmitted to us by the ancients, almost all explain themselves by words at once Gaelic and Cymbric, to whatever part of Britain or Gaul they may belong. Consult the *Ethnogénie Gauloise*, Part i. Glossary, Baron Roget de Belloguet. The Breton dialect of Vannes is similar in many respects to the Gaelic.

[3] *The people of Tyre, and the rest of the Phœnician, or Phœnic, or Punic race, were Semitic by language, but of Hamite origin They came from the Persian Gulf, and settled in Syria.*—Translator.

the Guanches from the Canary Isles, and the Etruscans from ancient Italy? Shall they henceforth, banished into the domain of pure science as nations passed away, be made use of as a text for the dissertation of the learned, who seek by the aid of an inscription almost obliterated, a page half effaced, a fragment of pottery, or a weapon become rusty by age, to save from oblivion some shred of the past?

This positive death, the final result of so many sanguinary combats, and so obstinate a perseverance, has been foretold to us as inevitable, often, indeed, as near, by careless or inimical voices, who fear not to echo opinions with which they sympathize. If there is a commonplace repeated in conversation as current coin, it is that the progress of civilization, easier modes of communication, more advanced education, must cause the last traces of ancient languages, and original customs, to disappear, which have existed until now in distant provinces. The greater number are pleased with this foreseen result; a few lament, with unreasoning maledictions, the most necessary ameliorations of their habits.[4] Even in those countries whose interests are at stake, the wealthy classes, who do not come in close contact with the peasantry, scarcely believe in the success of resistance; they who consecrate their exertions to it are still fewer in number.

The people themselves are full of confidence. Try to persuade a Breton peasant that his great-grandchildren will neither speak the same language, nor hold the same opinions as himself; he will shake his head, and all your arguments will utterly fail against unconquerable faith and national pride. Time will show who is right, the tradesman or the peasant. Let us only bear in mind

[4] We altogether deceive ourselves in imagining that the red dragon predicted by Merlin is an enemy. On the contrary, the inspired bard, the national prophet, made the red dragon a symbol of the Breton race. See *Myrdhinn*, pp. 93 and 274. See, moreover, the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, v. ii., and Nennius (Stevenson's edit.), p. 33.

that scepticism is unfruitful in its nature, and that faith removes mountains; but we must not forget that such a power has only been promised to a faith which knows how to use it.

Even if the death by which we are threatened could be wished for by any friend of justice and liberty, it would be easily understood that such a sight could not be calmly viewed by any of those who, in a Celtic country, had preserved a spark of patriotism.

IV.—Undoubtedly it matters little enough to learned men, who are only learned, whether the subject submitted to the investigations of their knife be dead or living. Instead of a language spoken by the people, written monuments will remain to them; *uno avulso non deficit alter*, and the philosophers will be satisfied.[5] It is not to listen to the throbbing heart that they bend over the breast; they only wish to count the fibres, and to study the situation of the nerves and veins. Physiology stands calmly before the corpse of a father or brother. But shall we, sons of Celts, and Celts ourselves, shall we have the courage to meditate over the affairs of our ancestors when the last Celtic lips will be chilled in Erin or Arvon?

Bretons or Gaels, let us no longer limit ourselves, as hitherto we have too often done, to seeking among perfectly speculative investigations, too easy satisfaction to our pride of race. A Celtic word, deciphered on the margin of an old manuscript, is of great value in my eyes, but one Celtic word restored or preserved in living languages is still more so. Man is born for action, not for knowledge only. May science be rather a means than an end. May the study of the past serve as a source of sage precepts and future lessons. Let us consult its inspiration before action; but let us take care to employ all our energies at the same time, and not to waste time in idle regrets, in contemplation of other days. We must know how to turn our eyes from the

[5] Manuscrits des Anciens Bretons, p. 41.

glorious past, or the grievous reverses of our fathers, and to direct them forward with resolution towards the future—that always mysterious future—whose destiny, in a great measure, we yet hold in our hands.

V.—It is here necessary to examine the justice of a charge which our enemies have disdainfully brought against us. Is the Celtic genius worth the trouble of such great exertions to preserve it to the world? Is not ours an inferior race, condemned always to remain in the background, and what can it do better than receive the direction of superior races who, in absorbing it, will make it participate in all the advantages of civilization?

For us the past is a guarantee of the future. A glance over history is sufficient to show how happily the race is endowed. The part it has played is considerable, and would have been still more so if evil destiny had not constantly pursued it. That which, down to the present time, the Celtic people have always lacked, especially those who were conquered by the Saxon race, has been air, light, and liberty. Their conquerors, dreading the force which the free exercise of their faculties would have given them, did not allow those elements of progress to be developed which they possessed within themselves. The advance of civilization has been twice abruptly stopped; once by the Romans, and afterwards by the great Germanic invasion, and its more or less immediate consequences.

It suffices to have read the Commentaries of Cæsar to know what upholds that prejudice which declares, in an already made (hackneyed?) sentence,—"our uncivilised ancestors wandered about, half-naked, in the midst of the forests of Gaul." Gaul and Great Britain presented, at the time of their independence, a civilization which was in many respects really advanced.

Royalty, whose paternal authority was the source of the origin of societies, preserved in a great measure this character with the ancient Celts. A clan (kenedel, γενέθλη *genus, familia*), was nothing more than a family enlarged by time, and also sometimes by voluntary adoption (*clientes*). The nation itself was but a reunion of several

clans, sprung from the same family. What happy influence would not the knowledge of this parentage have on the relations of chief and vassal (*gwas*)? Let it not be believed that the paternal origin of government had for its result absolute power, as with the Asiatic people. There are few countries where public life has been so well developed as in ancient Gaul, and if the modern language of liberalism must be spoken, nowhere would the citizens have surer guarantees against the encroachments of power.

In each city, almost in each clan, small groups and societies were formed, to which Cæsar gives the name of factions (*factiones*). This state of things was of high antiquity, and had for its object, he says, "the assurance to every man of the people protection against the powerful."[6]

Nobility was hereditary, but public offices were bestowed by merit.[7]

The nature of the kingly power was such, that the influence of the people was equal to the authority of the king.[8]

Thus the people, jealous for the preservation of laws and liberty, sometimes brought to judgment, and punished with death, those who had dared to usurp sovereign power.[9]

They well understood the balance of power in government. Kings commanded the armies, but legal and religious authority belonged to the Druids.[1]

The Gauls had few slaves, and they probably only filled up the number from prisoners of war. A learned historian has proved that serfs were almost unknown in

[6] . . . Antiquitùs institutum videtur, ne quis ex plebe contra potentiorem auxilii egeret.—*Cæs. de Bell. Gall.*, lib. vi. § 11.

[7] Cæs. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii. § 59 et 61.

[8] "Neque . . . . (Ambiorix) aut judicio, aut voluntate sua fecisse, sed coactu civitatis; suaque esse ejusmodi imperia, ut non minus haberet juris in se multitudo, quam ipse in multitudinem."—*Cæs. de Bell. Gall.*, v. § 27.

[9] Cæs. de Bell. Gall., l. i. § 4; vii. § 4.

[1] Ibid., l. vi. § 13.

Armorica, and very rare in the island of Britain, during the middle ages.[2] It was just the same with the Gaels (Scotch) of that island, where the population was altogether organized by clans.

"Free Britons," says M. de Courson, in his Prolegomena of the Cartulary of Redon, "formed the base of society in Cambria." According to the code of Howel Dda, whom he cites in the same work, no law could be established, modified, or abridged, amongst the insular Britons, without the consent of the sovereign court of the confederate states (*dygynnull teyrned*). "For," said the Welsh lawgiver, "law is a work of justice done by the king, in concert with the wise men of his kingdom, to decide quarrels as much as possible, according to right and truth."[3] Does not this, in a striking manner, recall to memory the famous "*lex fit consensu populi et constitutione regis*," the actual foundation of the right in representative monarchies. "Every free man oppressed by the prince," continues M. de Courson, "had the right of appeal against him to the judgment of the general assembly of the country; 'Whoever,' said the customs of Demetia, 'declared himself victim of an act of oppression, either on the part of the king, or of one of his followers, should obtain, without delay, a verdict from the assembly of confederate clans; and if the result of that verdict was that the complaint was just, justice must be immediately done; for of all the laws which regulate the relations between lord and vassal, the first and most important (*pennaf*) is that which protects the weaker from the stronger.'[4] Admirable words we must acknowledge, the memory of which will always be graven on the British heart."[5]

Among the ancient Celts, the eminently spiritual

[2] A. de Courson. *Histoire des Origines et des Institutions des Peuples de la Gaule Armoricaine et de la Bretagne insulaire.* Paris, 1843, pp. 92 and 325.

[3] Ancient Laws of Wales, v. ii., § 43, p. 394.

[4] Ibid., *Cout. de Démétie*, v. i. l. iii. § 17, p. 592.

[5] Aurélien de Courson, *Cart. Red., Prol.*, p. ccxxxvi.

character of the druidical religion[6] must have particularly contributed to elevate their minds. What is more sublime than those three first principles of wisdom, according to the Triads? "The three first principles of wisdom are, to obey the laws of God; to contribute to the happiness of man; and to arm one's self with courage against the

[6] *This the late Editor of this Journal always maintained. See his articles on "Druidism" in the Volumes for* 1854, *p.* 84; 1855, *p.* 261; 1856, *p.* 343; 1857, *p.* 27; 1860, *pp.* 265, 317; *and* 1861, *pp.* 61, 172, 263. *We think there are many reasons for supposing that all the heathen were not so ignorant of the principles of true religion as is generally supposed. This will appear if we compare the following opinions of Zoroaster, Confucius, the Ancient Hindoos, and those of Druidism, with the pure doctrines of Christianity* [TRANSLATOR]:—

"The principal doctrine which Zoroaster came to preach was that we must choose between these two—the good, holy, and true creator of the world, and the power of darkness. That we must be good and not bad."—Max Müller's *Science of Language*, First Series, p. 215.

"He is the creator of all things that exist; he is independent and omnipotent; he knows all things, even the most hidden secrets of the heart; he watches over the motions of the whole universe, wherein nothing happens but by his ordinance; he is holy; his justice is without limit; he inflicts signal punishment on the wicked, not sparing even kings, whom he deposes in his wrath; public calamities are the warnings he gives to mankind to reform their manners, which is the surest means of appeasing his indignation. . . . . The end, therefore, of the Confucian system is threefold,—the development of the moral and intellectual faculty, (that quality which is imparted to man by heaven);—the renewing, that is, the moral improvement of our fellows; and the attainment of the utmost degree of moral perfection, characterized as the sovereign good: so that self-correction and universal charity are its cardinal qualities. The process whereby we attain this end is by five steps;—the knowledge of the end to be sought; a determination to attain it; tranquillity of mind; fixedness or unalterable repose; meditation upon the nature of things."—Thornton's *History of China*, vol. i. pp. 211, 214.

"The principal and essential tenets of the Vedanta [the original system] are, that God is the omnipotent and omniscient cause of the existence, continuance, and dissolution of the universe. Creation is an act of his will. He is both efficient and material cause of the world: creator and nature, framer and frame, doer and deed. At the consummation of all things, all are resolved into him: as the spider spins his thread from his own substance, and gathers it in again."—Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. i. p. 371.

events of life." Diogenes Laertius,[7] on his part, has handed down this Triad as a druidical maxim:—

Σέβειν Θεους, και μηδὲν κακον δρᾶν, και ανδρείαν ἀσκειν.

Thus the first Apostles who came to preach the Gospel in Celtic countries found there "a certain ancient race who were good."[8]

Among the Celts, as in the prosperous days of Greece, "the poets are not solitary dreamers, but they take an active part in the struggles for conquest, and in the defence of right; the direction of minds belongs to them, and the heart of their country beats in their breast."[9]

According to the old Breton laws, if the major domo of the palace, the queen, or a noble, asked a bard to sing, he should comply with his wishes, and sing as many as three songs; "but if a peasant made a like request to him, that he should sing till he was faint.[1]" Thus, in the opinion of the Celtic lawgiver, the mission of a poet was rather to console and comfort the poor in their sufferings, than to beguile the leisure of the great.

The songs of the bards, like the instruction of the Druids, were transmitted orally, but if the Gauls did not employ writing oftener, it was not from ignorance but from choice. The alphabet which the Irish preserve must have been brought to them by the Phœnicians at a very ancient period. Cæsar tells us that the Gauls made use of Greek letters[2] in both public and private

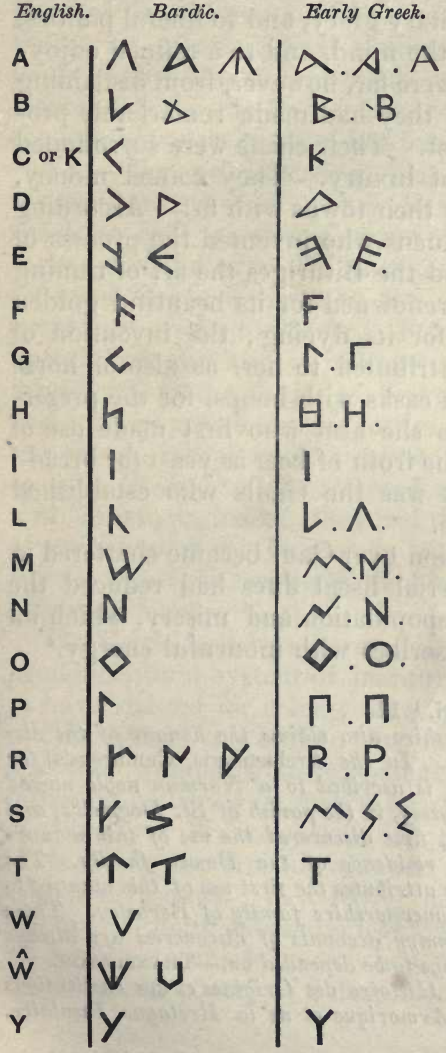
[7] In Proem., p. 5. [8] De Maistre, *Du Pape*, pp. 24–26.

[9] Ménard, *La Morale avant les Philosophes*, Introd., p. 6.

[1] *Les Bardes Bretons, Poèmes du VI. Siècle*, translated by M. le Vicomte de la Villemarqué. Paris, 1860, 2nd edit., p. 29.

[2] *We do not know whether the forms of these ancient letters were exactly the same as the Greek; but even in the Bardic alphabet, some letters are either the same as, or bear a resemblance to, the ancient Greek. Welsh Bards assert in their traditions that the Cymry acquired their knowledge of letters before they left their original country, not far from the Euphrates.—See* Cambrian Journal, 1861, *p.* 131. *After comparing the following alphabets, there can be no doubt that if the Bardic was not derived from the ancient Greek, it bears a certain resemblance to it, and appears to be related to it rather than to the Latin. In the ancient Greek alphabet the letters were written from right to left, and many*

The Ancient Greek Alphabet compared with the Bardic.



had forms differing greatly from those of later and classical times; e. g., *the* E *was like a* B; *one form of* K *was a sort of* Q; *the* S *resembled the* M, *&c. Afterwards the same characters were written from left to right; and in course of time they took the form of those known to us as Greek capitals.*—TRANSLATOR.

"That the Greeks derived their letters directly from the Phœnician is certain on many grounds:—1. From the close resemblance, almost amounting to identity, between the Greek alphabet (especially in its archaic form) and the Phœnician, it is evident that one is copied from the other. 2. The names of the letters, which are all significative in Semitic tongues of the objects which they were originally intended to represent, but have no meaning in Greek, prove that the Semites are the inventors, the Greeks the copyists. 3. The dropped letters of the early Greek alphabet prove the same. These are found, very distinctly, in the numerals, where they have the place which belongs to them in Phœnician and Hebrew. 4. The *traditional* late invention of those letters, which the Greeks possessed beyond the Phœnician, is an additional argument." — *See Professor Rawlinson's* Herodotus, iii. p. 264.

affairs.[1] The tablets found by him in the camp of the Helvetians contained a carefully taken census of the people and land.

The Celts, as may be seen, attached the greatest value to the acquisition of military glory, and to liberal politics, to the moral culture of the mind, and to a refined enjoyment of poetry. They were far, however, from disdaining civilized habits; in fact they had made remarkable progress before the conquest. Their chiefs were surrounded with a certain degree of luxury. They coined money, and knew how to fortify their towns with art. According to Pliny, it was the Eduens who invented the process of veneering (*placage*), and the Bituriges the art of tinning (*étamage*). Gaul was renowned for its beautiful golden stuffs (*brochées*), and for its dyeing; the invention of ploughs on wheels is attributed to her, as also of horse hair sieves, and wooden casks with hoops, for the preservation of wine. It was she also who first made use of marl[2] as manure, and the froth of beer as yeast for bread.[3] According to Varro, it was the Gauls who established the use of iron cuirasses.

The Roman domination over Gaul became shattered in the last period. Imperial fiscal dues had reduced the country to a state of depopulation and misery, which an old Armorican song describes with mournful energy.[4]

[1] Cæs. de Bell. Gall., l. vi. § 14.

[2] *A parish in Pembrokeshire also claims the honour of the discovery of marl as manure. In the* Archæologia Cambrensis *for October*, 1864, *p.* 311, *this is ascribed to a Norman noble named Cole, who resided at Tredryssey, in the parish of St. Dogmell's, and who, according to tradition, first discovered the use of this manure at Llwyngwair, now the residence of the Bowen family. The* Athenæum *of the same date attributes the first use of this manure to the second Baron of the Gloucestershire family of Berkeley. These coincidences in the traditionary accounts of discoveries are always interesting, though not always to be depended on.*—TRANSLATOR.

[3] Aurélien de Courson. *Histoire des Origines et des Institutions des Peuples de la Gaule Armorique et de la Bretagne Insulaire*, p. 94.

[4] Groac'h Ahes, *La Vieille Ahes*, published by M. de la Borderie, in his *l'Annuaire de Bretagne*, for 1861, pp. 177, and following.

Gaul passed afterwards, without respite and without resistance, from the yoke of Roman administration to that of Frank kings; but Britain, after the departure of the imperial legions, knew how to give herself an independent organization. She had the power to develop the germs of an original civilization, which were rather made fruitful than destroyed by its contact with the Romans, when the Saxon invasion abruptly terminated the voluntary progress of her national genius.

VI.—One neighbouring Celtic country, which had escaped the Romish yoke, Ireland, then presented a spectacle well worthy of surprise and admiration, No sooner did the rays of Christianity reach her, than she reflected the pure light on the surrounding isles, and a great part of the continent. From this island, till lately uncivilized, and almost unknown to the rest of Europe, went forth to the shores of Britain and Gaul, Germany and Italy, warm-hearted apostles, who preached the faith to a people still altogether pagan, gained millions of souls to Jesus Christ, and contributed to save a dying civilization. Perhaps, indeed, they had the incomparable honour of announcing the Gospel to the people of a continent which for eight centuries had remained unknown to Christian Europe.[5]

The Celtic race was governed, at the time of its independence, by a system of institutions, which is believed to have existed for a long time, particularly during the middle ages;[6] it was then that she prepared within herself that wonderful development of all which is most pure and generous in man's heart—I speak of the spirit of chivalry. We must seek its origin, for the most part at least, in the fruitful alliance of the Celtic with the Christian genius. If a living faith, with an invincible fidelity without calculation or reserve to a country and its legitimate chiefs, even when unfortunate, if the love of glory and poetry, if a deep respect for women, are the

[5] America.

[6] See the work of M. de Courson, *Historie des Origines*, pp. 120 and following.

essence of the chivalrous spirit, do we not recognize those sentiments in the spontaneous works of our race, from the mouth of the Valiane to the furthest cape of Scotland? Read the songs gathered from the lips of the Highlanders, the Irish collections of Miss Brooke, the poems of the bards of Wales or Armorica, you will find there a poetry sometimes enthusiastic and warlike, sometimes melancholy and resigned, sometimes full of harshness and anger, often painting tenderness and love, but always a chaste poetry, serious, religious, breathing pure patriotism, and most generous sentiments.

Are they not truly the ancestors of our chevaliers, the faithful of the "trimarkisia,"[7] those Gaulish knights (*equites*) who, attended by their pages (*ambactes*) and soldiers, took pleasure in going armed through Europe and Asia, disdaining to owe victory to aught beside their courage and their badly-tempered swords. Do we not still recognize them as such when we see them seated at the festive round table, (their squires forming a circle behind them, and served like themselves,) then rising to engage in mock combats, real tournaments, in which blood frequently flowed?[8]

What is then wanting to these brave men, full of faith in a future life, and such a religious respect for the Druids and Bards, if it is not, above all, the sign of a Christian on their foreheads, and perhaps, also, a little of that refined respect, full of grace and charm, even in its exaggeration, which their sons paid to women, whose

[7] *Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in his Papers on* British Remains on Dartmoor, *makes the following remarks on the word:—*

"*The trimarca (tri march, 'three horses') mentioned by Pausanias (*x. 19, 9) *in the Gallic army, signified a horseman attended by two slaves, also mounted men; which accounts for the name.*

"*The reading trimaricia appears to be erroneous; and his saying 'the Gallic word for a horse is* marka,' *requires it to be* τριμαρκα. *One reading gives* τριμαρκισια; *and this has been supposed to be compounded of* tri-march-gwys, *the last being a termination signifying 'people,' as in Lloegrwys," &c.*—Journal of the Archæological Association, 1862.—TRANSLATOR.

[8] Posidonius, *ap. Athen.*, l. iv., c. 13.

character was raised, and whose mission was ennobled, by the Christian religion?

Not only did the Celts impart to the spirit of chivalry its principal human element, but they gave to Europe, in the middle ages, Arthur's Round Table, one of the most fertile sources of literary inspiration.[9]

The bard of a petty British king of the sixth century had power to see, (in imagination,) from the enchanted retreat where legend places him, future politicians attentively studying, with a kind of religious respect, the prophecies to which his name was attached.[1]

At the end of the last century, the appearance of old Gaelic songs revised and arranged by Macpherson,[2] excited a general enthusiasm in Europe. Their influence was not foreign to the great literary movement inaugurated a short time afterwards by a Breton,[3] who rescued French literature from the too exclusive and servile imitation of the Greek and Roman models.[4]

Finally—(I acknowledge with regret this contemporary and perfectly factitious influence)—we see a certain school of philosophy more enthusiastic than reflective, attempting to reproduce the religious doctrines of Druidism, and to make the *Kyfrinach* of the Welsh bards the foundation of a new Gospel, a singular tendency which reveals itself in many writings, from the *Terre et Ciel* of M. Jean Raynaud, even to *Callirhoé*, a recent romance, by

[9] See *Les Romans de la Table-Ronde et les Contes des Anciens Bretons*, by the Count de la Villemarqué. Paris, Didier, 1860.

[1] See *Myrdhinn*, or the Enchanter Merlin, his life, works, and influence, by the Count de la Villemarqué. Paris, Didier, 1862, book ii., and especially chap. ii. book iii.

[2] The Highland Society of Scotland has recently published, at Edinburgh, eight volumes of ancient Gaelic verse, which had been transmitted orally among the mountaineers. It is there, and in the fragments preserved in Ireland, that we must seek henceforth what remains of the songs of the son of Fingal, *disjecta membra poetæ*.

[3] Châteaubriand.

[4] See preface of *Premières Méditations Poétiques*, where Lamartine relates that the reading of the poems of Ossian, (though doubly disfigured by Macpherson and Baour-Lormian,) opened to his mind new horizons.

M. Maurice Sand. A strange attempt at a renewal of a doctrine which has ceased to exist for fourteen centuries, and which proves how great need there is in our time that we should attach ourselves again to some faith and traditions.

VII.—Thus the past of the Celtic race declares what is the worth of the genius which inspires it, and sufficiently testifies the fruitfulness of its future. The study of its present state would suffice of itself to reassure the observer who has penetrated into the private life of the humble and hard-working rural populations, who at present represent it in all its purity. He would feel that there was a mysterious and restrained force at work in their breasts, ready to produce great results in all branches of human pursuits, when it finds itself to be in a more favourable condition for its free development.

There still exists a profound and true feeling for the poetry existing in nature, and the events of every-day life, a feeling which is not found elsewhere in civilised Europe, except in a certain number of minds formed by study.

No, no, not quite extinct is yet the love of poesy,
For dearly loved it is by those whose souls are soaring high;
But still that thread mysterious, that finest chain of gold
Uniting heaven with earth in the palmy days of old;
That chain is broken by our pride, and now we must appear
In face of countless marvels, as if without voice or ear.
Some shepherds (poets' offspring) some herdsmen quite obscure,
Stronger than science, even with all its stifling power;
Simple and gentle minded, these men alone can see
Of the world's whole, the vast, the wondrous harmony.
To them to comprehend creation's mystery 'tis given,
The hidden secret of those ties uniting earth to heaven.[5]

For us, in the country of France, the shepherd poets are a myth good enough to recall to memory Theocritus and Virgil, if not Florian; the Comic Opera itself has had nothing to do with it for a long time; well! there, on the margin of the Highland lakes, on the hills of

[5] Brizeux, *Marie, La Chaine d'Or.*

Munster or Connaught, in the Welsh valleys, as near the shores of Elorn or Scorff, the herdsman on the moor, the husbandman at the plough, the sailor in his ship, the beggar on the high road, the young girl at her washing or her spinning-wheel, are poets in their way, and often with an exquisite nobleness and refinement of sentiment. In France, after a century, the people forget the name of their kings, They ignore everything about St. Louis and Louis XIV.; neither would they know anything about Henry IV., were it not for his statue on Pont Neuf, and the well-known song.[6] There, on the contrary, the populations have always preserved the memory of their old kings fresh in their hearts, like those of their saints, their common benefactors; and if they often falsify history by legends, it is to mark more forcibly traits which have struck them. Charlemagne or Philip Augustus, Turenne or Condé, if they returned to earth, would have to seek their soldiers in the dust of the tomb: Arthur and Morvan, our ancient heroes, if they at length awoke from that slumber in which we accuse them of having slept too long, would find in this living generation armies willing to flock beneath their standards.

There, the pious respect of traditions has preserved old languages and old manners, and with the spirit of their ancestors is also preserved, for a better future, that invincible hope which so many ages of deceptions and defeat have not been able to subdue, and which has always shown itself superior to adverse fortune.

However, there is no time to lose, if we wish that the heritage which we received from our fathers should be transmitted intact to our sons; if we wish to develop, as is our duty, the great resources for progress which it contains. We have been already too dilatory. We must hasten to take advantage of the elements of life before they become still further weakened. We must substitute for isolated efforts a concerted and deliberative action. In what manner must it be directed? That is what I

[6] *Of "Vive Henri Quatre."*—TRANSLATOR.

shall endeavour to set forth for the whole of our race. If I appear to grant in this work a too great share to Brittany, I shall be exonerated by the reflection how very difficult it is for the Celts in France to place themselves in communication with their brothers beyond seas, and to receive information of what is passing amongst them. This error, which it was difficult for me to avoid, will prove still more the existence of a state of things to be regretted, and which is highly necessary to change. In other respects, what I shall say of Armorica might almost always be applied, with some modifications, to other Celtic countries.

II.

THE "*MALAISE*" OF THE CELTIC RACE.

"Allaz! ar Vretoned zo leun a velkoni."
"Hélas! les Bretons sont pleins de tristesse."
Ann Droug-hirnez, BARZAZ-BREIZ, t. II.
"Omnis populus ejus gemens."—*Jerem.* I. *Caph.*[7]

I.—Among the Celts of the present day, the greater number have an unalterable faith in the future; others, alas! who, having given up all hope, allow the sentence of death, in the name of progress, to be carried out against them, and accept defeat without a struggle. But an evil wind, like a bitter perfume, has filled the soul with inexpressible melancholy.

We have said that the men of the people are usually strangers to ordinary discouragements; but if their unalterable confidence does not allow them to dread the loss of that which they still possess, yet it does not prevent them from making sad reflections on that which they have lost. With those who have preserved the most deeply marked cast of national character, these confused sentiments of apprehension and regret are sometimes uttered in accents of heartrending sadness.

[7] *This quotation is* not *in Jeremiah;* perhaps *it may be Lamentations,* i. 11—"*All her people sigh.*"—TRANSLATOR.

Occasionally even the best and bravest succumb, notwithstanding their own endeavours, to the overwhelming influence of fear and discouragement.

In the introduction to one of the most characteristic songs of modern Armorican poetry, where the popular sadness reveals itself in a manner sometimes sublime, at other times naïve, but always remarkable, the author of the *Barzaz-Breiz* describes, with the happiest touch, the melancholy landscape which lay before him, inspiring the impressionable souls of the mountaineers; the chapel towards which were hastening, on the dusty road, benighted pilgrims, the river in the valley, in the horizon gloomy mountains, and behind their summit crowned with dark woods, "the sun about to disappear, himself a type of another sun which sets never to rise again."[8]

In this same song, a group of pilgrims whom chance has brought together, representing each of the popular classes of Brittany, compare their race, deceived in their hopes, to a father whom grief has driven mad, and who rocks in tears the corpse of his child.

"The men of Lower Brittany," say they, "have constructed a handsome well polished cradle,—a handsome ivory cradle, adorned with gold and silver nails,—and now, while they rock it, tears flow from their eyes—tears roll down their cheeks; bitter tears, for he who is in the cradle is dead,—has been long dead, nevertheless they rock it still, singing. They rock it, they rock it ceaselessly, for they have lost their reason;—they have lost their reason, and for them the world has no more joy. For the Breton, on this earth, there are but regrets and heart troubles,—nothing but regrets and troubles of the soul when he thinks of the past."

This is the same impression of national misery which seized a young peasant of the last century, embarked as a sailor on board of a man-of-war. After having bewailed his own fortune, he exclaimed, thinking of his

[8] Ann Amzer Dremenet, *Le Temps Passé*, "Barzaz-Briez," Fourth Edition, t. ii. p. 267.

country, "Alas! Bretons are full of grief."[9] A melancholy cry which sums up the sentiments with which his heart overflowed, and which, influencing his long cry of grief, seems to add to it unutterable personal greatness.

A similar sentiment was expressed by an Irish bard of Tipperary in the seventeenth century:—"Chill winds blow on us; death hovers above our heads; peace and hope no longer belong to our race."[1]

Finally, this melancholy, common to each fraction of pure Celtic race, is still more profoundly impressed on the Breton mind, which willingly dwells on itself, and loves to cherish serious thoughts. Amongst the Gauls, this melancholy is often tempered by that gaiety and mobility of impression which the southern and central French seem to have inherited.

II.—This state of misery, which represses the native faculties of a race through long generations, ends by acting powerfully on individual character, and reveals itself with singular energy on more impressible minds. We need not seek elsewhere the cause of this sadness, tinged with fierceness, which has been so often remarked in the greatest Breton writers. Observe Châteaubriand, Brizeux, Lamennais, and so many others; they have each some oppression of mind and also of body. They have all a degree of "*malaise*," and in fact of disease. As the vigorous body of a wrestler struggles against fever, so do their energetic souls chafe under the restraints of a strange disease, which the stern aspect of their native shores does not sufficiently explain. However, the flood which now beats our shores brings even more sorrow, perhaps, than that which thirteen centuries ago carried us as exiles from Britain! We have seen it, alas! tormented by that gloomy disquiet, direct its attacks against religious

[9] Ann Droug-Hirnez, *Le Mal du Pays*, "Barzaz-Breiz," t. ii. p. 369.

[1] A song composed on the departure of John O'Dwyer of the Glen, an Irish chief, who was self-exiled, and went to Spain, in 1681, at the head of five hundred companions in arms.

truths, which, for so many ages, the Celts have professed and defended at the cost of blood.[2] All who are blame-

[2] *From this passage, as well as from others (in the paragraphs which we have omitted), in which M. de Gaulle refers to the religion of the Welsh, he appears not to be aware that they did not receive the Christian religion through the Roman Church—with which, in fact, they were not entirely in accordance even before they became members of the Reformed English Church; nor does he appear to know that they were Christians, and possessed a British Church, very long before Augustine was sent from Rome as a missionary to the then Pagan Anglo-Saxons, who, on their conversion, subjected that early Church to great persecution. Indeed, the British Church was not only of much older date, among the Celts of Britain and Ireland, than that of Rome, but may claim the merit of being in the earliest times a simple form of Christianity, which, after the influence of Rome became paramount in Britain, was found from time to time to manifest itself under different forms, until at length its final day of triumph arrived in the Reformation. It has therefore been justly observed by Miss Lucas, in her* Church of England (*Bell and Daldy*, 1855), *that*,—

"The *Reformation* was, in truth, but the *Restoration* of our Scripture Creed—the purifying of our first faith from the superstitious * * * errors which had, through the frailty of man, crept into her bosom. * * * I will refer * * * to a few passing allusions to the Christians of Britain, made by contemporary writers, who *lived and died before* the era of Augustin. Foremost, in chronological order, stands the testimony of Tertullian, who, in writing against the Jews, in the year 209, says,—'Those parts of Britain where Roman arms have never penetrated, have become subject to Christ.'* In the year 302 Diocletian commenced his horrible persecution of the Christians. This persecution extended to France and Britain, of which last country Constantius Chlorus was at that time the governor, and in which it was carried on in a far milder spirit than elsewhere, as the governor acted in it rather from a spirit of obedience, than from any actual desire to injure the Christians. In many cases he destroyed the churches without molesting the worshippers. Nay, he even proved his household, by announcing to them that the Emperor required the dismission of all such as professed the Christian religion, unless they chose, rather, to give up their faith. A few forsook their God; but he, though not himself a Christian, immediately discharged them, retaining the others, with the remark that those who were untrue to their God would assuredly prove unfaithful to their earthly master.† When, in the year 305, Diocletian and his

"* Quoted in Henry's Hist. Brit. See Burton's Lectures on Eccl. Hist. &c.

"† Eusebius, Vit. Constant., book i. cap. 16. See also Milner's Church of Christ.

able, or simply unfortunate, seem to carry on their foreheads the sign of defeat impatiently endured. They seem

colleague Maximian resigned the empire, and Constantius became Emperor of the West, he at once put a stop to the persecution in Britain and in Gaul, though it raged with increased violence, for many a long year after, in other portions of the empire.‡ And there is good reason for believing that many Christians, during those years, fled, for shelter and for life, both to France and to these islands. In the following year Constantius died, and was succeeded by his son, Constantine the Great, the Roman Emperor, whose name has come down to us as the noble and unwavering soldier of the cross; the ardent and zealous—even if the somewhat uninformed—Christian. He assumed the purple at York, whither he had hastened to attend his dying father. He is generally believed to have been born in Britain. His mother, the Empress Helena, was a British Princess, the daughter of Coel Godebog, a Prince of the British tribes.§ * * In the year 314 a Council was held at Arles, for the purpose of condemning the schism of the Donatists. This Council was attended by *three British Bishops;* namely, Eborus, Bishop of York; Restitus, Bishop of London; and Adelfius, Bishop of Colonia Londinensium, or Lindum;‖ besides Sacerdo, a Presbyter, and Arimnius, a deacon of the last-named city.¶ These three Bishops answered to the three Roman provinces into which the Emperors had divided their British possessions; and they should, probably, be regarded rather in the light of superiors, or Archbishops; as every other province, with the exception of that of which Arles was the capital, sent but one Bishop to this Council. At the Council of Ariminum, which was held in the year 359, there were again present three British Bishops,* whom Sulpitius Severus mentions as accepting the proffer of Constantine, and being maintained at the public charge during the sitting of the Council, on account of their extreme poverty. Four years afterwards, in the year 363, we find St. Athanasius writing to assure the Emperor Jovian—upon the strength of letters received from the Bishops of Spain, Gaul, and Britain—that those Churches continued to adhere to the faith as expressed by the Council of Nice.† Jerome, who was born in the year 331, and Chrysostom, who was born in 354, frequently speak, says Stillingfleet,‡ of the orthodoxy of the British Church; and the first mentions British Christians as visiting the Holy Land, and even the celebrated Egyptian ascetic, Simon Stylites,

"‡ See Mosheim's Eccl. Hist.; Gibbon's Decline and Fall, &c.

"§ Iolo MSS.

"‖ The names are given as in the text; but the third is evidently a mistake of the transcriber for Landavensis, or Llandaff.

"¶ Spelman's Concil. Brit., tom. i. p. 42.

"* Sulpitius Severus, Hist., lib. ii., quoted by Mosheim.

"† Athanas. Græco, tom. i. p. 399, quoted by Mosheim.

"‡ Stillingfleet's Origines Britanicæ.

to stoop, without bending, under a fatal weight, as if the canopy of heaven, which our ancestors boasted to uphold

who flourished in the very early part of the fifth century. The same writer also mentions—as will be presently shown—the means by which, according to his belief, Christianity was first conveyed to Britain. Proceeding in chronological order, our next proofs must be deduced from the history of the heresy which convulsed the Church during the early part of the fifth century—namely, that of Pelagius. Pelagius was a native of Britain, whose original name was Môrgan,§ but who, on the completion of his education at the revivified College of Bangor-Iscoed, assumed, in accordance with the custom prevailing amongst learned men of the period, the name by which he has so long, so universally, been known. * * * * As might be but too naturally feared, this heresy made sad progress amongst the countrymen of its originator. The greater part, however, of the *ecclesiastics* remained true to their faith; and, finding themselves unable to confute the specious and subtle arguments of their apostate brethren, they applied to the learned men of the Gaulish Church to assist them in their disputations. After receiving repeated messages, the Gallicans determined on sending to Britain two prelates, who, being natives of Armorica, or Brittany, and of British extraction,‖ were acquainted with the British tongue.¶ The Armorican or British names of these prelates were Garmon [one who shouts], and Bleiddian [a young wolf]; but they are historically known by the Latinised titles of Germanus and Lupus. The first was Bishop of Auxerre. In the year 429 these 'Apostolical priests,' as they are termed by Constantius, landed in Britain, and displayed so much zeal and activity,* that they soon effected the conversion of the heterodox, and confirmed the faith of the weak and wavering.† In the year 449 the Saxons, as before mentioned, invaded Britain, and the British, overpowered, yet unwavering, retired before them, carrying their religion into the remotest and most inaccesible parts of the western rocks and mountains; and yet, even in their utmost emergency, they did not forget their fellowship with those of their own faith who were

"§ *I. e.* Sea-born.

"‖ Liber Landavensis.

"¶ It is not to be supposed that, after so long a lapse of ages, the Welsh and Breton languages are mutually recognisable, though *individual words*, and even a few sentences, remain the same. Their grammatical construction, however, the only true test of the nearness of philological relationship, is identical.

"* Williams' Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry, &c.

"† This visit of Germanus is commemorated in ordinary history by the account of the victory which he achieved over the Picts and Scots, in Flintshire, and which is usually known as the 'Allelulia Victory,' from the circumstance of the panic taken by the Pagans on hearing the Christian host shouting their Hallelujahs. It seems needless to suggest that this must be but a legendary allusion to the name of Germanus.

on the points of their spears, had lowered itself on the heads of their disarmed sons.

of another nation; for we find, at different periods, British Churchmen passing over into France, either for the purpose of preaching to those who were as yet unconverted, or of establishing themselves peacefully amongst their Christian brethren. Two names, in the latter class of emigrants, are familiarly known as of historic occurrence.‡ These are Samson, who founded a monastery at Dôl, in Brittany, became Bishop of that place, and died about the year 565; and Columbanus, also a Briton, who left his native land in 589, and settled in France, where he founded the Abbey of Luneville, and where, in consequence of his great learning and austere piety, he became an authority of the Church, though he was attacked by Pope Gregory for observing Easter at a different period from that appointed by the Roman Church—an attack which he parried with a degree of learning and ability which appear to have been, for the time, unanswerable. * * * * I shall close * * * with this remark of Gildas—that he could find no *British* records of the British Church under the Romans, as they must have been either destroyed or carried abroad by the British exiles§—a remark of which we must remember the date, as Gildas was born in the year 520; and although chroniclers disagree as to the exact time of his death, yet they all concur in placing it not later than 590, or six years before the mission of Augustin to the Saxons. * * * I have endeavoured to show * * * the separate and distinct origin of the two Churches, which, after holding themselves apart for so many centuries, at length flowed, uneasily and reluctantly, in the same channel for so long a period, but which were finally once more separated, by the purifying and restoring of the one which had first existed in this land. I say uneasily, because at no period of our history as a nation, did the yoke of Rome rest lightly on the necks of our forefathers. When Dunawd declared that he did not know obedience 'to be due, to be claimed and demanded, by him whom men named to be Pope, or father of fathers;'—when King Egfred (himself a Saxon, who had received the faith through Roman missionaries) imprisoned Wilfred, Bishop of York, for having been the first Englishman who made an appeal to the Pope;‖—when, in the year 749, the Council of Cloveshoos, in Kent, forbade the making of such appeals;—when King Edward the First refused permission to the English Bishops to attend a General Council, until they had sworn not to receive the Papal benediction; —when he executed one of his subjects as a traitor, because he had procured a bill of excommunication against a fellow-Englishman;—

"‡ See Milner's Church History; Williams' Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry; Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History; Iolo MSS., &c.

"§ Quoted in Henry's Hist. Brit.

"‖ See Liber Landavensis, Iolo MSS., &c.

[*The following and other paragraphs marked with asterisks are omitted, being merely political, and not adapted to a Literary Journal like our own.*—TRANSLATOR.]

* * * * * *

III.—But amongst Celts, worthy of that name, melancholy has not changed their resources of life; as yet they know not despair. Nothing has been able to reach their tenacity; the time seems now to have arrived to employ energetically for their preservation and progress the moral force which they have so preciously guarded.

It is not that the way is entirely clear, and that obstacles are few; but action is possible, and that suffices. Their efforts will find sympathy in the whole world. Modern researches on the origin of nations, the direction given at the present time to historical studies, have attracted to our race the interest of strangers, and often awakened amongst ourselves a patriotism for which we find, in our national titles, motives so powerful, and

when King Edward the Fourth declared, in the name of his country, that though the Emperor of Germany, and the King of France, should side with the Pope, he was ready to do battle with them both in defence of the British crown;—when the Parliament of King Richard the Second declared that any liegeman of the English King, accepting a benefice in the British Church *by foreign* provision, was put out of the king's protection, and the benefice made void, adding in a subsequent session the penalties of imprisonment, forfeiture, and loss of life or limb, to any who should bring over any citation or excommunication from *beyond sea*;‖—and when the framers of the Articles of our Church re-echoed the sentiment of the Abbot of Bangor, and, in the very quietude of their Christian dignity, simply affirmed, 'The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England;'¶—one feeling, and that the feeling of resistance to all Papal interference with England, animated their hearts, and found expression on their lips. And if, unhappily, that expression was not always governed by God's rule of love and charity, it was the weakness of man's nature—which has ever some error in its holiest zeal—that clouded the brightness and purity of that Christian religion which should make *co-existent* his faith in his Heavenly Father, and his tenderness to his brethren upon the earth."

"‖ See Blackstone's Commentaries, book iv.; and also Sir Edward Coke's Reports, Lond., 1777, part v. 8.

"¶ Article 37, 'Of the Civil Magistrate.'

such a clear justification. In this *Review*, even a little more than a month ago, an Irish poet predicted, in glowing terms, to his Breton brothers, the duration of their race and language. We return, with as much confidence in its accomplishment, the same kind wish to our Gaelic brothers, and accept Mr. Ferguson's wishes for our common race, with one trifling exception, however: we do not wish to allow the "vehement man of the south" the exclusive privilege of "walking on the high pathways of genius in the van."[3] Gaels and Bretons know,—and better still their enemies,—if the Celts had ever been displaced from the van.

These two dispositions, the fear and hope of the mind so contrary to each other, should carry, each within itself, its lesson, and tend to modify what is excessive in either. The unshaken confidence of some is well calculated to reanimate the courage of those who, in the persuasion that destruction sooner or later is inevitable, regard as useless every attempt made to oppose it. On the other hand, the ominous predictions inspired by all which is passing around them, gives subject for reflection to those who are sleeping in a haughty but empty confidence, as if God, by a special miracle, of which we have no promise, should protect, till the end of all things, the existence of a race which will do nothing to protect itself.

The surrounding causes of decay and ruin are sufficient to inspire us with serious fear; not that cowardly fear which causes one to quit the field of battle, but that reflective and prudent apprehension of danger so necessary to fit us for all emergencies, and which insures victory. The wages of persistence and endurance are sufficiently great and glorious, we think we have proved, to give confidence to the more irresolute; but that confidence will prove vain if it does not act. It is not possible for any

[3] "Leave to him, to the vehement man
Of the Loire, of the Seine, of the Rhone,
In Idea's high pathways to march in the van."
S. Ferguson, "Adieu to Brittany," *Revue de Bretagne et de Vendée*, January, 1864, p. 40.

resistance, purely passive, however determined it may be, to brave indefinitely the continued action of destructive force, feeble though it may seem.

Let us then seek to define the dangers which their actual situation brings to the Celtic people, and the measures of defence which the nature even of these dangers so evidently indicates.

III.

NATIONAL LANGUAGES.—CITIZENS AND PEASANTS.

"Un ffydd, un iaith, un galon."—TALIESIN.

"Cas bethau Katwg
Llyma'n hwy'n amlwg:
. . . . . .
Gwerin anghyvraith
divrawd ac anraith."[4]

I.—If our thoughts dwell on Armoric Brittany, we must acknowledge that our language is an outward sign and rampart of our national existence, and though that language is not so dangerously situated as evil prophets repeat in confident tones, still her future is seriously threatened. She is being gradually set aside in most of the towns, and finds many causes of decay in the country, where hitherto she has reigned supreme. The peasants, for convenience sake, or even for the security of their interests with the inhabitants of towns, and strangers in the country, require to know French; and we must acknowledge, in the present state of things, the establishment of French schools has conferred very great benefits. Unfortunately, French only is taught there, and taught exclusively through the medium of the French language, and the pupils are even forbidden to speak a word of Breton in class, or to converse with one another in their mother tongue during the hours of recreation.

One of the principal impediments to the Breton becoming the first instrument of education, is the absolute

[4] Legende Celtique, pp. 183, 307.

want of works in the Breton language, suitable for instruction in the various branches of knowledge, that of religion alone excepted. A Breton of the present day cannot acquire the elements of arithmetic, history, geography, &c., if he has not before prepared himself to read and understand books written in French. For all those who are desirous to develop their understanding by study, French is the language of science, Breton that of ignorance. How can we then be astonished that parents, when they have an opportunity, are glad to send their children to these schools, where they very generally learn to scorn their mother tongue, and the customs in which they have been brought up? Sometimes, also, they learn to look with contempt on those same parents, who, by most painful sacrifices, gave them the opportunity of acquiring that incomplete and false instruction which now fires their vanity. It is this state of things, so deeply to be deplored, for which it is necessary to find some remedy.

In this respect, I fear Ireland and the Highlands are placed in nearly the same situation; but the Welsh, in spite of the English schools, frequently directed by English professors,[5] have courageously put their shoulder to the wheel, and have published a great number of works on popular education in their national language.

A still greater danger than those outward perils which I have just enumerated threatens our national idiom; it is the slow but progressive change which is at work in

[5] Mr. T. Lloyd Philipps, author of a small elementary book intended to give Welsh children their first notions of the English language, *Llawiadur i'r Iaith Seisonig*, Denbigh, 1856, says in his preface, p. vi.,—"Y mae yr ysgrifenydd wedi gweled yr angen mawr sydd am y cyfryw gynnorthwy yn ysgolion y dywysogaeth,—yn enwedig yn y rhai hyny (ac nyd ychydig yw eu nifer) sydd â Seison yn athrawon ynddynt, a lle y mae y plant, o ganlyniad, yn gorfod dysgu Seisoneg cyn y gallont ddysgu dim arall." Literally, —"The author has seen how many schools in the Principality require a like assistance,—above all those (and the number is not small) where the masters are English, and where, consequently, the children must learn English before they can acquire any other knowledge."

its own breast. The general language is spoken with remarkable purity in the provinces which are distant from the great centres of population; but in towns, cities, and in their immediate neighbourhood, where its use is general, we cannot deny that it has severely suffered. The educated classes, who ought to pique themselves on greater purity of language, have much contributed to its decay, by not taking pains to study it, and unnecessarily introducing therein a great number of French words. Thence comes a certain expression analogous to "dog Latin;" Brezonek tuchentil, "fashionable Breton," indicating something still worse.

As regards the written language, the evil, of which we have old traces, has always been on the increase, as we prove by comparing with each other the various editions of books printed in the Breton language for the first time two centuries ago. These works, usually compiled in imitation of foreign ones, were by ecclesiastics accustomed to think and write in French, whose orthography was fantastic, full of neologism, and as little Celtic as possible in meaning or construction, being the intellectual food of all who can read, exercise the most baneful influence on the idiom spoken by the people, with the corrupt language of the upper classes.

II.—The progress of the evil was at length arrested at the commencement of this century, by the courageous initiative of Le Gonidec—an initiative which assures to him for ever the gratitude of philologists, and still more of every Breton. He re-established the ancient orthography, at once national and logical, the only one in Western Europe, if we except the Welsh, where the sounds and letters appointed to represent them correspond to each other in an established and regular manner. He will regenerate the written language by the principles of his admirable grammar, and by the example of his works, from which he has rejected, with scrupulous care, terms of doubtful origin. A little later appeared the *Barzaz-Breiz*, which, without considering it here except in a philological light, marks with precision the state of the

purity of language spoken in the country, and furnishes to all writers the best model to follow.

The initiative of Le Gonidec and M. de la Villemarqué have inaugurated the era of our philological and literary regeneration. In their wake, and influenced by their example, several writers, whose talent equals their patriotism, now display the same ardour in upholding the language of their country as their fathers evinced in preparing to defend its soil. On that new field of battle have already fallen, Brizeux, l'Abbé Durand, author of the splendid work *Ar Feiz Hag ar Vro*, Professor Guizouarn, who has some remarkable poems unpublished, l'Abbé Guillome, l'Abbé Le Scour, Mgr. Graveran, who edited with so much ability the periodical publications of the *Breuriez ar Feiz*. Notwithstanding these losses, of which one above all is irreparable, the combatants are, thank God, always numerous. If our prose writers are, unfortunately, but few, we may say that they redeem by their worth what is wanting in number; like the few infantry of the Prince de Condé, "they became greater under fire." It suffices to cite M. l'Abbé Henri, and M. l'Abbé Arzel, Colonel Froude, and M. G. Milin, whose last public work, an excellent translation of the *Imitation of Jesus Christ*, has obtained a brilliant success.

It is always under a rhythmical form that the inspirations of the Celts appear most willingly, and find more ready welcome with the people. Also, without speaking of popular poetry, properly so called, the source of which is not exhausted in our country, without speaking of the author of the *Barzaz*, who himself composes excellent verses, quite equal to those which he has collected and translated, without speaking of our prose writers, who are also very good poets, we have beheld, at the appeal of the originators of our regeneration, bards, inheritors of the ancient harp, rising in crowds, singing with equal love of their earthly and heavenly land, like their predecessors,[6] encouraging the good and reproaching the

[6] Οὺς μεν ὑμνουσι οὺς δε ἐλασφημουσι.—*Diod.* liv. v.

wicked. Their separate songs, "clearly printed on white leaves," as our poet[7] says, sell by thousands of copies on Sunday in the towns, in the fairs, and on days of indulgences, and on the great fête days. Their names are known and loved by the people, whom they animate with noble sentiments, and console in their miserable state. If we endeavour to cite a great number, we should risk the charge of being unjust to those whom we must necessarily omit, but I may be allowed to mention to persons ignorant of our actual Breton literature the names of Mgr. le Joubioux, who almost singly upholds the honour of the dialect of Vannes, the most exposed of all to the encroachments of French; M. de Lézéleuc, grand-vicaire of the Bishop of Kemper; MM. Clec'h, Kéré, Kersalé, Gourc'hant, Marc, Morvan, Perrot, Roudot, in the district of Leon; the N. D. de Rumengol, in our Cornwall (in Brittany); MM. Kémar, Vice-President of the Confraternity of Breton Bards (*Breuriez Breiz*); Luzel (*Ann Huel*), editor of *Triphina Hag Arzus*; Karis (*Barz Mene-Bre*), whose tomb is only just closed; Le Jean (*Ar Iann, Barz Koat ann noz*); Rannou (*Barz Roc'h Allaz*), who, in the district of Tréguier, falsify so happily the sad prediction of Brizeux.[8]

Honour, then, to those brave and hardworking champions; if every one, each in his sphere, had fought with the same zeal, the success to our work of regeneration would be from this moment assured.

III.—However admirable may appear to us the individual efforts which have been attempted, and however fortunate may be the results which they have produced, it is too obvious that they are absolutely insufficient. To insure success, it is necessary to unite many in one continued effort; and, above all, and in every possible way, the first object that we should try to attain in Celtic countries is a moral union.

It is easy to understand the immense social and poli-

[7] Brizeux, *Primel et Nola*, "Request of the Husbandmen."
[8] The Bretons.

tical advantage which it would be for a population more or less denationalized, to draw nearer the people who have remained faithful to the language and mind of the country. At the present day, more than ever, all that tends to divide classes is a serious danger to us.

IV.—In general, in Celtic countries, most intimate relations of reciprocal affection and devotion have existed between each portion of the nation; their history, from one end to the other, is an indisputable proof of this.

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Nothing, thank God, which is going on in the three other Celtic countries less resembles a parallel state of things; but can we say, however, that their situation, in this light, leaves nothing to be desired?

In French Brittany, for example, a line of demarcation deeper and deeper tends to widen the breach between the inhabitants of town and country. The former, setting aside the national idiom, have very imprudently relaxed the intellectual tie which united them to the latter. These, too frequently forgotten and despised by the citizens, with whom they had no longer ideas and language in common, gradually became accustomed to consider them as strangers, and returned scorn for scorn. Read their popular songs; you will see there the proof of these sentiments proclaimed on every page.[9] The following passage, taken from M. du Chatellier's very interesting book on *Agriculture and the Agricultural Classes of Brittany*,[1] will show how far the evil may extend itself:—"The agriculturist, confined more and more to his small domain, each day separates himself farther from the townspeople, so that few of them would know him except by the rents which he pays his landlord, with whom many agriculturists are frequently obliged to have intercourse by means of interpreters. Some landlords, thus isolated from their tenants, have already gone so far as to break off their relations with them, and let their

[9] Voyez: *Les Jeunes Hommes de Plouié, le Mort de Pontcallec, les Laboureurs, les Bleus, le Temps Passé*, "Barzaz-Breiz," v. ii.

[1] 1 vol. in 8vo., Paris, Guillaumin, 1863, p. 182.

farms by means of public auction, or open adjudications with their attorneys. What will be the result from this deplorable mismanagement can be easily foreseen, if the farmer and his land should thus become a mere object of speculation for the landlord, who would be sufficiently imprudent thus to separate himself at the same time from land and tenant."

V.—It is an imprudence and mistake on the part of the inhabitants of the town thus to separate themselves from the peasants, whom they would make a type of ignorant and stupid immobility, but who are likely, by their love of independence, intelligent and persevering work, to become almost everywhere masters of the soil, and to constitute in the country a wealthy class, numerous, energetic, thoroughly Breton, and able to raise, in the presence of the city population, a rival and preponderating influence.

Let us here again listen to what M. du Chatellier tells us. "With what measured, but certain, slowness do these men (Breton peasants) come to take possession of land which they rightly regard as the surest sign of their emancipation. Each day gives them more right, and as soon as circumstances are favourable to its production, it would be almost impossible to withstand the united power with which they prosecute the acquisition of lands within their reach, and conveniently situated."[2]

We see this energetic and persevering race inviolably faithful to that which it holds from its ancestors, possessing all necessary qualities for marching forward, without allowing anyone to stop it, and without quitting Celtic land, in the way of true progress. Towns will perhaps lose, as certainly they have nothing to gain, in following a different course.

VI.—A Welsh nobleman was once riding on horseback through a division of the Principality. On reaching the bank of a small river, he inquired, in English, of a peasant who was working hard by, if the water was ford-

[2] L'Agriculture et les Classes Agricoles, &c., p. 208.

able in that place. He received an answer in the affirmative; but, by no means satisfied with the tone and manner of the reply, he repeated the question in Welsh. "Ah! pardon!" cried the peasant, "I took your honour for a Saxon; no, do not cross there, the water is deep, and you might be drowned." And he immediately furnished him with a means of passing the river in safety. We know not, with too great certainty, how to call the attention, on this matter, of our brothers who, inhabiting large towns, are but Celts in name. So long as the rural populations preserve the last remnant of their language, or the traditions of their race, they have no reason to look upon them as strangers or deserters. On the contrary, let them, for the common advantage, draw closer the bonds which still unite them, and seek to renew those ties which formerly served to do so. Like so many landowners who give a noble example in Armorica, Wales, and the Highlands, let them draw near, if possible, to the people in private life, or at least in the public expression of their collective joys and griefs. Let them assimilate by a community of language, which will soon lead to an assimilation of opinion. Since we are not pure spirits, it is a law in human nature that all our private feelings should be exhibited under a visible form, and generally we can conclude, from the alteration of the sign, as to a corresponding change of the thing signified.

In Ireland, in Little as well as in Great Britain, let us know how to remain or become what truth has made us, or common habitation calls us to be. "Gratitude remains in the heart of the Celt, as the point of steel in the heart of oak; time may destroy the oak, but cannot pluck out the weapon,"[3] says one of that race who himself also has done so much to merit that gratitude which he paints in such glowing terms. Then the landlord might, without fear for his life, traverse the country of that island, which a young virgin laden with jewels might, under the reign of Brian Boroimh, have traversed alone from one end to

[3] Légende Celtique, Second Edition, p. 225.

the other without fear for her double treasure. Then let any danger come, like an overflowing torrent, or a social crisis menacing us, the Celtic peasant will stretch forth his hand to us—a hand always ready to help those whom he loves, but terrible to those who have brought on themselves his mistrust or hatred.

It is this which is the first and greatest effort to make; this it is which will determine the success of others.

Then forces will be increased tenfold for good. The upper classes, brought in closer contact with the most numerous part of the population, will find a thousand motives and opportunities to employ nobly and usefully their activity. By labouring in the affairs of their province, and occupying themselves with the improvement of their land, the large landowners will confer no less benefit on their own interests than on those of the inferior classes. These great re-unions of workmen under one roof, where family ties relax, where the body grows meagre, where souls are lost, where hatred creates for itself feats for the miners, these iron manufactories themselves, which must almost everywhere be regarded as social evils, might, under steady hands, intelligent and devoted, become powerful means of regeneration for the city or semi-city populations. They might serve perhaps to form Christian and free associations, inheritors of national traditions, and of that old system of clans, which has taken a firm root in the heart of our race. Absenteeism would prove an exception; or laziness, which worse still, would no longer tarnish the splendid abilities of so many inheritors of glorious names, who would find again legitimate and lasting influence in the community of interests, and gratitude and confidence for benefits rendered.

IV.

EDUCATION, ITS OBJECT AND MEANS OF ACTION.

"Par l'éducation la séve de la vie morale circule dans la patrie comme le sang dans les veines, et l'heure vient où cette séve, sous un souffle heureux, fait au dehors sa naturelle explosion."—Le R. P. Félix, *Oraison Funèbre du Prince Adam Czartoryski.*

I.—After realizing an intimate union between the different classes of our population, the task which imperatively claims our efforts is to give to the rising generation a more national education, one more conformable to their intellectual requirements, and the necessities of their position. "There is a thing which influences more than aught else the private life of a nation, and prepares in the present future greatness," as R. P. Felix excellently said in his funeral oration over Prince Adam Czartoryski. The same orator recalled to our recollection that a Russian, making allusion to the energy which that prince displayed in his duties as guardian of public education, said of him,—"He has delayed the Russification of Poland for a century." It is also our duty, Britons of the Isle and continent, Scotch or Irish, to prevent the obliteration of all that which hitherto has been the means of our retaining our national character in the midst of two of the most powerful nations of Europe; we must give a truly Celtic direction to the generation which we are training. If mature age lends not her ear, and treats our work as a chimera, we must speak to young souls whom no chill blast has benumbed, and who can still believe that the people have interests to protect which are more sacred than their material interests.

II.—In this education, the old national languages should hold a considerable place.[4] For us, they are at once a means and an end: a means, for it is by them alone that we can effectually carry out and generalize

[4] *At the Welsh Collegiate Institution, Llandovery, the study of the Welsh language is made an important part of the educational course.*—Translator.

instruction among the people; by them the wealthy classes will come in closer contact with the peasants, and exert over them a beneficial influence. Their preservation, and general use, should also be regarded as a result greatly to be desired, if we consider that they are to many of our populations at once a sign of national existence, a powerful protection to customs and religion, and, at the same time, the most suitable to their genius. Can it be believed that the choice of language does not in any way influence the nature and worth of thought? The intellectual pursuits of man during his terrestrial life are as closely united to his language as his soul is to his body. There is a turn of mind, a manner of thinking, which scarcely exists without the given idiom. Suppose Shakspeare born elsewhere than in England, and Racine anywhere but in France, they would have had perhaps as great a genius, but they would not have been such as they were.

"A great poet adds to the wealth of a fine idiom, but who shall say how much that idiom suggests to genius?"[5] Who can say how many original works, capable of enriching the common treasure of humanity, have been stifled by the inability to give them utterance in the language designed to express them?

The language of a people is the spontaneous production of its spirit. It varies in the same degree as the people themselves; it is, at each epoch of time, the ever varying result of its natural faculties, past vicissitudes, and present inclinations. A language sums up what the people are as a whole; it is that which is entirely their own. It is a mould which receives the impress of its distinctive character from the nation, and which in its turn gradually impresses that character on minds which habitually give utterance to their thoughts in its words.

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The preservation of Celtic idioms is also of great im-

[5] "Conquered Languages. Modern Provençal." By Miss Julia Kavanagh. *Hibernian Magazine*, October, 1860.

portance, in a moral point of view, for the populations who speak and read them. In our fortunate Armorica, an immoral book, written in Breton, is not to be found.

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"Breton language and religion are brother and sister in Bretagne," says one of our proverbs.[6] "You cannot wound the one without striking the other. They have lived up to the present day in the midst of us, holding each other by the hand."

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III.—To those who would ask if sufficient sap remains in these languages to produce truly original works, and furnish sufficient aliment for the moral and intellectual wants of the populations, we can cite the example of what is taking place in Wales. Not only do Cambrian societies give to the public every year most precious historical or literary documents on the past history of their country, but numerous patriotic writers have created there powerful means of national education. The language, cultivated with care for some centuries, has been made capable of rendering all the philosophical and scientific ideas that a modern language can express. Not only has Welsh literature produced original works of real merit, (among others, a history of Wales, *Hanes Cymru*, by the learned and much regretted Thomas Price, of Crickhowel,) but it has given to the world a very large number of elementary works, on the different branches of education, which at once testifies the eagerness of the people to instruct themselves, and of the patriotic care with which the educated classes seek to furnish them with the means of doing so. The relatively large number of newspapers printed in Welsh, shows in a still more striking manner the vitality of the British language in the Principality. The Rev. J. Williams states that there appear in Welsh "two quarterly publications, the one of which is a review, and the other an

[6] Ar brezonek hag ar Feiz
A zo breur ha c'hvar e Breiz.

encyclopedia; monthly publications are fourteen in number; and five weekly newspapers.[7] These publications are principally read by agricultural labourers and workmen, and that in a country the population of which does not amount to more than 800,000. One of these newspapers counts its subscribers by thousands, scattered in the great manufacturing towns of the West of England, in Liverpool, Manchester, &c., which proves with what fidelity the Welsh cling to their language, even when circumstances separate them from their country.[8]

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[7] La Basse-Bretagne et la Pays de Galles, by J. Williams, p. 40.

[8] "WELSH CHURCH IN LONDON.—On Tuesday, March 7th, a large and influential meeting took place in St. George's Hall, composed of Welsh residents in London, to the number of 800 or 900. The hall was completely crammed, and not even standing room left. At seven o'clock the chair was taken by the Right Hon. Lord Llanover. . . . . His Lordship gave some most interesting and remarkable statistics of the Welsh chapels in London belonging to the various denominations (which time will not permit us to give now in detail, but which we may publish at some future time). His Lordship mentioned eighteen Welsh chapels, with seventy-two Welsh weekly services, Welsh and Sunday schools attached, in London and the suburbs, supported entirely by his countrymen of various denominations. He gave the whole history of the origin of the one Welsh church in the metropolis (Ely Chapel, Holborn), which entirely owed its present appropriation to the late excellent Earl of Powis, who thirty years ago had communicated and consulted with Lord Llanover on the subject, and had a meeting at his house on purpose to obtain donations and subscriptions for a Welsh church, on which occasion the noble Chairman said he had produced statistics of the then existing numerous Welsh chapels, supported by various denominations. He said Ely Chapel, Holborn, had been obtained, and its rent paid, by a committee, headed by the Earl of Powis, of which he was one. It was opened in 1843, and up to 1848 the Welsh clergyman was paid, and all expenses defrayed, by voluntary subscriptions or donations, but since December, 1848, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had provided the salary of the incumbent, and all other expenses were paid by voluntary aid, and by the congregation; that there was a Welsh Sunday School attached, which, according to the good Welsh custom, was attended by adults. . . . . On some future occasion we hope to give more at length some of the interesting statistics of Welsh chapels in England, as well as in London, viz., Liverpool, Bristol, Manchester, Hanley in Staffordshire, &c., &c., North of England, America and Australia. As the noble Chairman observed, to their

IV.—Some years ago there met together in Brittany, at periodical epochs, sometimes in one city, sometimes in another, men of mind, and very different social position, all animated by the most disinterested zeal for intellectual and material progress within the range of action. The Breton Association exists no longer. * *

Instead of the vast assembly of the Breton Association, we must substitute a system of relations, as intimate and regular as possible, between the different local societies of the country; in the absence of national instruction, officially given, we must provide by the thousands of means placed at our disposal, free institutions, adult societies, books, and above all, instruction, independent of that received at home.

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V.

THE CELTIC UNION.

I.— * * * * *

Let us then endeavour from this moment, as the prayer of some one expresses it, "to establish relations, and to lay the foundations of a system of co-operation." The first result to obtain would be the establishment of regular and frequent relations between Breton societies of different kinds, and those which exist on the other side of the channel. These relations should comprise a well followed up correspondence, the communication of acquired results, a mutual aid in works of erudition, reciprocal exchange of books, reviews, newspapers, &c.

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It is extremely difficult to obtain, out of the British

honour be it known, wherever the Welsh settled in any numbers, there they have raised chapels for their religious worship in their own tongue, and there they maintained their own language for religious purposes, as well as their own literature; and it is a fact that there never were so many Welsh papers and Welsh books published as at the present time."—*Hereford Times.*—TRANSLATOR.

Isles, books relating to the indigenous languages which are there spoken. We should agree to publishing, in French, on each of these dialects, a grammar, dictionaries, graduated exercises, with key, dialogues, a selection of most important texts, with annotations, the whole at a moderate price, and being throughout methodical and complete. * * These publications could not fail to greatly popularize the study of our literature in Europe, and particularly in France.

II.—With the design of facilitating the desired union of the various Celtic people, we have to express the wish (to which we attach very serious importance) of seeing a periodical organ dedicated to the whole of the Celtic race. * * We have in France the *Revue de Bretagne et de Vendée*, and a great number are published among our brothers beyond seas; but what is wanting is a compilation, which should take in all the questions of common interest, making itself the organ of our wishes, in which theories which present themselves could be discussed, and where we might centralize a variety of information from a hundred different places.

This Journal, which would, I suppose, be entitled *The Celtic Review* should appear in French, whether in France or Great Britain, every month, and afterwards, if it was thought necessary, every fortnight. Published under the direction of masters of Celtic science, with the assistance of Celtic foreigners, and the most influential men in every way in the four countries, it should comprise,—1st, Articles of weight on the movement of minds in Celtic countries, their moral, intellectual, or material requirements, &c.; 2nd, Historical and biographical studies; 3rd, Poetry, news, study of customs, travels; 4th, A bibliographical part, containing reviews on all works of importance, relating directly or indirectly to Celtic science, nomenclature of all new Celtic publications, important or not, accompanied, as much as possible, by a short indication of their object and worth, summaries of reviews and newspapers; 5th, Discoveries, facts, and various informamation, statistics, notices of deaths of men of note; 6th,

Reproduction of the principal articles on Celtic subjects, taken from indigenous or foreign journals. This division should naturally have a large space, and it will be easily understood how useful it would be for those Celts who can neither know nor procure everything which is published on subjects which interest them; 7th, and last, should be dedicated to the publication of ancient Celtic texts, unpublished or rare, with translations and notes.

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III.— * * * * *

IV.—But, besides these means of ordinary correspondence, it would be exceedingly interesting for all Celtic countries to restore, at appointed times, these great fraternal reunions of which the country of Taliesin witnessed, twenty-seven years ago, the first and memorable experiment. Each of the four principal fractions of the race should convoke by turns a great national festival; representatives should be taken from all classes of the other three countries. After an account rendered of the labours executed in each country since the last assembly, the most beneficial works for Celtic science should be solemnly rewarded, and recompenses should be bestowed, or at least public thanks be given, to all those whose efforts might have contributed to the moral or material welfare of their people. Poetical and musical assemblies should also form the common base of those festivals, to which expositions of objects of art, agriculture, and industry might be usefully added. The interest of business, equally with that of pleasure, would thus be united to the higher motives of patriotism, to attract a great meeting at these new Olympic games, serving as a national link between sister cities, separated by institutions like those of ancient Greece. One of these great reunions might take place every three years, so that in a dozen years, the Shannon, Clyde, Severn, and Laita, would successively assemble on their banks a deputation of each of the members separated from the great Celtic family.

If these reunions should find any obstacle in Brittany, we might hold them provisionally in Cornwall. * *

Is it necessary to add that those inhabitants of countries formerly Celtic desiring to come into closer contact with the tribes who have remained faithful to the spirit of their ancestors; those foreigners who sympathise with our race, or studies; and, finally, deputies of other ancient nationalities desirous to establish relations with ours, should all be received as dear and welcome guests in those "*privileged synods of fraternity and union?*" These guests will, I think, meet with sympathetic co-operators. Thanks to the progress of Celtic studies, they begin in France to recall to their recollection that the country bore formerly another name, and that all is not there dated from Roman or German invasions. Those within whom the blood of their first ancestors speaks with more force, feel awakened within them mysterious affinities, and they very naturally find that they belong in heart and mind to Celtic nations, properly so called. And as soon as they claim their letters of naturalization, they will not have to wait long for them; they are truly received as brothers; he who writes these lines is an humble and recent example.[9]

AB ITHEL.

We have now to speak of that peculiarly Welsh institution the Eisteddfod, and of the connection which Ab Ithel maintained with it, especially during the last years of his life.

The bardic session or congress so called, descends, it is believed, to the Cymry of to-day from the period of Owain ap Maxen Wledig, or Owain Vinddu (the Black-lipped), who, according to the Triads, was elected to the chief sovereignty of the Britons at the close of the fourth century. The Eisteddfod has always been devoted to the study and practice of the poetry, music, and literature of

[9] *The writer, as he tells us elsewhere, is not himself a Breton.*—Translator.

the Cymry, to the preservation of the national language and usages, and to the promotion of patriotism and independence in the sons and daughters of the soil.

Associated with the Eisteddfod and having a yet remoter origin, is the Gorsedd, which is more exclusively a convention of the bardic fraternity (in the larger sense of the term *bardd*) who were the depositaries of all poetic knowledge and historic tradition, the preservers of genealogies, the directors of religious culture, and the teachers of technical arts.[1] Thus the Gorsedd is virtually the ancient assembly of the Druids tempered by the holier principles of Christianity, and enlighted by larger secular knowledge.

It cannot be doubted that with such functions the Gorsedd and the Eisteddfod acquired a considerable social power, and perhaps played an effective part in certain critical epochs.

Fostered by the native princes and loved by the nation, these institutions helped to maintain both the power of the ruler and the integrity of the people. When the great Llewelyn line passing into the Tudor branch, proved rather England won than Wales lost, the bardic congresses were well supported by the two Henries and by Elizabeth, and they have been continued, though under more adverse conditions, down to the present generation. One of the earliest meetings is that recorded by Iorwerth Beli, which was held upon the hill of Dyganwy, in the sixth century, by Maelgwn Gwynedd, perhaps after he had triumphed in battle in the marshes of Creuddyn, when

> "Not vainly on Dyganwy
> The Island Dragon stood,

[1] Properly speaking, the Eisteddfod is derived from the Gorsedd, as is that branch institution the *Chair*, which is appropriated to certain divisions of the country, as the Chair of Powys, of Gwynedd, of Morganwg. The well-known passage of Lucan pleasingly refers to one practice of the Celtic bards:—

> "Vos quoque, qui fortes animas belloque peremptas
> Laudibus in longum, Vates, dimittitis ævum,
> Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi."

And flung the Saxon warwolves
To howl in Conwy's flood."

Cadwaladr who much improved bardism, held a celebrated Eisteddfod in the seventh century. Bleddyn ap Cynfyn and Gruffydd ap Cynan made further modifications, in the eleventh century. They enacted that no person should follow the profession of bard or minstrel but such only as were admitted by the Eisteddfod, which was to be held once in three years. In 1176, Rhys Prince of South Wales convened at Aberteifi, after formal notice of a year and a day, a very complete Eisteddfod, the particulars of which have been recorded. The prizes for poetry were here won by North Wales, and those for music by South Wales—a distinction that has been maintained even to our day. Another great Eisteddfod was held at Caermarthen in the fifteenth century. The town of Caerwys in Flintshire had long been famous as one of the chief seats of the Eisteddfod, and in the fifteenth year of Henry VIII. a meeting was held there at which the ancient bardic laws were confirmed. But the greatest was held in 1568, under the direct authority of Elizabeth, who acted with characteristic sagacity, and the proceedings of this Eisteddfod—which is the last, we believe, held at Caerwys, save one—have been also recorded with minuteness.

In the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century the Cymmrodorion Society was organised to promote Welsh social and literary interests, and later on, the Gwyneddigion, Cymreigyddion, and other societies co-operated in the work. Under the auspices of these bodies, which numbered some of the best scholars and ablest men that Wales has produced, many Eisteddfodau took place, the most notable being Caerwys in 1798, Caermarthen in 1819, Wrexham in 1820, London in 1822, Welshpool in 1824, Denbigh in 1828, Beaumaris in 1832, Cardiff in 1834, Abergavenny in 1840, Swansea in 1842.[2] In the following fifteen years there does

[2] These gatherings were distinguished by the presence of many eminent men in rank and talents, by the excellence of the composi-

not appear to have been any Eisteddfod of note except Aberffraw (1849), or Rhuddlan (1852); the chief causes being the growing rivalries and dissensions of the parties into which Wales is unhappily divided upon almost all questions, literature not excepted, and the growing pressure of the demands of business life upon the middle classes. Whatever was done was upon a local and sectional, rather than on a national and comprehensive scale, and was in little harmony with the typical idea of an Eisteddfod.

Ab Ithel conceived in 1857 the idea of restoring the old Eisteddfod and giving it place as a permanently recurring festival. He found able and willing coadjutors in a small group of clergymen,[3] his personal friends, and it was determined to hold an Eisteddfod on the largest scale in the following year.

Llangollen was chosen as the place, and the autumnal equinox (the Alban Elved) as the time. The preliminaries were arranged with judgment that provided for all wants, and energy that removed all difficulties. The best Welsh writers, orators, and musicians, of all talents and opinions, were bidden to meet upon a neutral platform for the general good of Cymry, Cymru, and Cymraeg. The bardic *awen* was invoked to re-animate the Gorsedd. The popular spirit was appealed to for the support of a gathering designed for the vindication, not less than for the pleasure, of the people. The Welsh settled in England

tions evoked, and by the general attention excited. Mrs. Hemans wrote some beautiful lines for the London Eisteddfod of 1822. Professor Rees' celebrated *Essay on the Welsh Saints* was produced at the Swansea Meeting. The Princess Victoria took part in the proceedings of the Beaumaris Eisteddfod. Peers and prelates enrolled themselves among the Cymmrodorion; poets, antiquaries and philanthropists gave them sympathy and support. The Eisteddfod became, in the slang of the present day, *respectable*. Yet we do not find in it any statistics, or "social science," or encyclopædiology, or educational parade. Can *our* Eisteddfod attain so brilliant a *status*, and grow in popularity without declining in nationality? It is the problem which the new Permanent Committee have to work out.

[3] J. Hughes (*Carn Ingli*), T. R. Lloyd (*Estyn*), R. W. Morgan (*Mor Meirion*), T. James (*Llallawg*), and others.

were earnestly asked to assert their ancestral privileges, or rekindle their languid patriotism. Strangers were invited to witness a spectacle which would correct their prejudices without offending their pride, and while amusing them by its novelty, would impress them by its truth. The lovers of Wales were encouraged to assist, in their own language, the exposition of Welsh themes and the promotion of Welsh interests.

Eminent success attended these efforts. Money was contributed in sufficient amount to sustain a competitive prize scheme of £500. Adherents thronged around the promoters. Curiosity and expectation were excited far and wide.

A pavilion was erected on the bank of the Dee capable of holding 5000 people. Every ceremonial and emblem in the ancient practice, as far as such could be reproduced in the present day, was duly prepared for this great meeting.

The result was a festival which will long be remembered by all who witnessed it—by the Welsh as a bright resuscitation of the past, and an auspicious earnest of the future; by the English as a rare example of genius and ability hitherto unsuspected or denied, and of deep-seated and compact nationality unparalleled under the British Crown.

The impressions of those four bardic days group themselves in pictures of varied colour and composition, but all of them in close harmony with the beautiful setting of wood, water, mountain, and mead, which make up the charm of the town of Saint Collen. Take the scene at the Gorsedd in the rich sunlight of an autumn day, as it would have appeared to a traveller entering the place from the Ruthin Road. The stirring strains of the battle-music of Wales—now invoked only in the cause of peace and love—come winding and resounding up the valley, mixed with the quiet undertone of the river and the rustling refrain of the trees. There is in the "March of the Men of Harlech," for instance, an elevation and an *élan* which take the heart with pleasure and satisfy the

most fastidious ear, even when languidly played in an English drawing-room; and how much more is it pleasing when rendered with vigour on the soil which it has stimulated brave men to defend![4] Massed upon the greensward near the Bridge of Bishop Trevor, is a great crowd converging upon the Meini Gwyngil, the twelve stones of the Gorsedd Circle which stand for the Zodiac signs, and in whose centre is the chief stone, the *Maen Arch.* The circle is ten yards in diameter. Outside of it, at a distance of eighteen yards from the maen arch, are placed three stones in such a manner that lines drawn to them from the centre would indicate respectively the points of equinoctial and solstitial sunrise. But the trilinear figure thus produced denotes the mystic symbol /I\ the three rays of light, the three primary letters, made visible and audible to Menw son of Menwyd when the Almighty thus pronounced His divine Name, and instantly called all creation into life and light, signifying His great attributes of love, truth, and knowledge.[5]

On the central stone stands Ab Ithel in his white robe as a Druid-Bard. A naked sword lies beside him. Ovates, bards and druids are grouped around him in

[4] The brilliant setting of this fine air by Mr. Brinley Richards has made it quite a favourite for the piano-forte. In extreme contrast with the *March*, and perhaps superior in point of music, is that plaintive wail of defeat and misery, *Morva Rhuddlan*, probably a thousand years old.

[5] This high imagining of the Awen (A Wen), the *Dosparth Duw a Goleuni*, or system of God and Light, is the foundation of bardic triadism, and has been interwoven with much that is beautiful and true, and with much, perhaps, that is fanciful and false. In Ab Ithel's *Barddas* the whole subject is treated with the fullest detail. Some good specimens of Gorseddau or Cylchau exist in Wales; for instance, in that fine region of archæology between Conway and Aber, rich with many a camp and barrow, and *carnedd* and *maenhir*, which includes the mountains Yr Orsedd, Y Foel dduarth, Moelfre, Penmaenbach, and Penmaenmawr, and the Pass of Bwlch y ddeufaen. On Moelfre, near Llanfairvechan, there is a great circle, thirty yards in diameter, formed of six tall stones and many smaller ones. It is not, however, always easy to distinguish the places of bardic convention and druidic worship from those of sepulture, habitation, or defence.

their respective dresses of green, blue, and white, typifying the progress of knowledge, the truth of poesy, and the purity of religion. The long ridge of the Berwyn Hills projecting the near spur of Moel Geraint, is seen over the right bank of the river; and the bold escarpment of the Eglwysegs—unique in limestone scenery—with the conical outpost of Dinas Bran, the stronghold of the proud beauty of the scarlet robes, Myvanwy, dominates the left bank. Further toward the north, beyond the sweet glen of Llantisilio and the quiet Vale of the Cross where nestles the ruined abbey amid the changeless hills, rise the proud peaks of Moel y Vaen and Moel Gamelin which separate the basin of the Dee from the fertile levels of Dyffryn Clwyd.

So surrounded, the Gorsedd might seem to be a meeting of the old Covenanters of the Scottish hills, while the banners, and the music, and white villas, and feminine costume might give it the semblance of some modern festive celebration.

But the unfamiliar ceremonies, and the strange accents of the Celtic tongue heard clearly through the thin air, taking alike sweetness and strength from educated lips, restore the scene to its true significance, a Welsh gathering upon Welsh soil. Ab Ithel on the stone is opening the Gorsedd by briefly reciting the history of Bardism and of the bardic institutions, and pointing out how the uses, dignities, and privileges of them relate not only to the learned band who are in the *adytum* of the science, but to the great outside world who have no business relations with the shadowy firm of Plenydd, Alawn and Gwron, who delight not in Taliesin in the cottage, nor meditate on Tydecho in the chapel. Next follows the Gorsedd prayer from the lips of Mor Meirion, one of the most fiery and gifted of the throng. This epigrammatic but beautiful invocation is said to come from Talhaiarn in the fifth century. Then is made by the president the proclamation inviting all candidates for the bardic degrees to come forward and present themselves "where there is no naked weapon against them"—in

token of which all the bards around the stone assist in sheathing the sword.[6] Thereupon come first the aspirants to the full honours of bardhood, few in number, but genuine Welshmen and fully qualified by their character and writings. The formula is pronounced challenging opposition, and none being offered, the president taking each of them by the hand and turning to the East, exclaims "Be the light of God before thy eyes; the light of God within thy conscience; the truth of God upon thy tongue!"[7] He is then, after other words, admitted as a bard, and invested with a blue ribbon and a blue wand "emblematical of privilege."

The candidates for the degree of Ovate, the undergraduates of the bardic college, next appear, and are also admitted by a certain formula upon being presented by graduated bards, who declare "upon their word and conscience that they are worthy." And they retire conspicuous with a green ribbon and wand. This part of the proceedings must be regarded as unsatisfactory, for the majority of the new Ovyddion are ladies and gentlemen whose claim to the distinction is only some sentimental partiality for Wales, perhaps transient and superficial, and certainly unaccompanied by the knowledge

[6] The very ancient distinctions of Bard, Druid and Ovate, as named by Strabo, and current under the "Unbenaeth Prydain," were in the times of the Princes multiplied into a variety of classes of poets and musicians; as to which copious details are given in the Triads and *Leges Wallicæ*. The honours, privileges, and duties of the bards and minstrels are very curious, and are intimately connected on one hand with the government of the country, and on the other with the manners of the people. The chief bard was called Cadeir-vardd, or Pen-bardd, and the chief musician Pencerdd. There seem to have been four degrees in poetry, and five in music. The best sources of information are perhaps,—*Cambro-Britannicæ Cymraecæve Linguæ Institutiones*, by Dr. John David Rhys; Edward Jones' *Musical and Poetical Relics of the Welsh Bards;* Dr. Wotton's *Laws of Wales;* Dr. Owen Pughe's works; the *Iolo MSS.;* Evan Evans' *De Bardis;* and Ab Ithel's *Barddas.*

[7] "Goleuni Duw rhag dy lygaid
Goleuni Duw yn dy gydwybod
Gwirionedd Duw ar dy dafawd."

and fixed purpose that distinguish the true ovate. It were better to abolish all such complimentary trifling, and to reserve the real degree for those who understand the Welsh language, or are studying it, and who have done something for Wales, or will do it. The honour —*valeat quantum*—will then possess a higher value, because unweakened by dilettanti participation.

The Druids having also graduated with appropriate formalities, the bard Glas Ynys[8] delivers the *traethawd*, or charge to the initiated, "exhorting them to be true to their order by the maintenance of peace and goodwill among themselves, and by the cultivation of poetry and other branches of literature in the Welsh language." This charge given in that language is peculiarly edifying, doubtless, to the pseudonymous ovates.

And now a poem is recited, the Doxology is sung, and the Gorsedd adjourns. The procession passes jubilant from the circle, through the town which flashes with unwonted mirth and music, to the great pavilion of the Eisteddfod, raised on the spot called the Bowling Green, on the left bank of the Dee, close to the ever resonant fall below the bridge.

Let us enter that tent at midday. It is a curious and characteristic scene. The armorial banners of the Fifteen Royal Tribes emblazon the canvas. Mottoes bardic, national, and social are scattered eloquent around. The red dragon of Wales—"the Dragon of the great Pendragonship"—is rampant over the President's chair on the platform; and the emblem of divinity and bardism, the triad rays, with the great motto of the bards, "Gwir yn erbyn y byd"—Truth against the world—shine conspicuous on a large blue banner in front of it. The platform or dais is thronged with the chief speakers, managers, and supporters of the Eisteddfod. All epochs characters and vocations seem to meet there:—clergymen from remote mountain parishes as from busy towns,

[8] Glas Ynys, the Rev. Owen Wynne Jones, of Llanfaethlu, Anglesey, a pleasing poet, a successful preacher, and a sterling Welsh patriot.

all hardworking, simple hearted, gifted and kind; young musicians and poets, gay with ribbon, wheat-ear or leek, flushed with the hope of triumph in the competition, or with the ardours of the *awen* rising from the occasion and the scene; sedate business men in black, who have left blastfurnace, warehouse and countingroom for this unwonted congress—spurning the habits of *masnach* for the deeper instincts of *gwlad;* county squires, a little Anglicized, who half from curiosity, half from duty, mingle with their more thorough-going friends; veterans of Eisteddfod rejuvenescent in the light of happy memories, who, now present as judges both of string and voice, and both of *awdl* and *englyn*, have erst themselves carried off prizes in all; strangers of distinction from English plains, wandering in Wales for health or pleasure, and arrested in this fair valley by the spell of the ancient Genius of the place; men from Scotland and Ireland heartily "assisting" at this kindred festival of the Celtic family; harpists of fame among their countrymen, with medalled breasts, and on some of the oldest, that placid, far off, dreamy expression of features, which recalls Wordsworth's exquisite lines,—

> "And beauty born of murmuring sound
> Shall pass into her face;"

And lastly, woman, woman in her Welsh setting, from the town-bred lady shawled and jewelled, to the clergyman's quiet daughter, pale, but not etiolated, with the thought and seclusion of mountain life, or dark-eyed and rosy with the holiday spirit of the valley; but all in colours and costume of the common *gwlad y gân.* Woman, too, in her English type, with beauty of another order, and the look of novel interest and pleasure quickening through the habitual veil of impassibility and reserve.

All these groups surround the president, who, chosen from among the more distinguished men there—*distinguished* not necessarily meaning rich or exalted—sits, calm, genial and sedulous at a table crowded with papers, decorations and prizes. A piano-forte is near, and a

cunning hand and warm heart to give it voice—Owain Alaw of Chester, well-named and well-known. Near him is no less a personage than the Archdruid of the Isle of Britain, Myvyr Morganwg, in his white robes, as he might have stood amid the groves of Anglesey, or the megaliths of Stonehenge, bearing the mystic egg and other insignia of which Pliny has spoken simply, and Higgins, Stukeley, and Davies discoursed in a bewildering amplitude of occult learning.[9] Two marvellous figures are seated on the dais, reflecting some patriarchial antiquity, but whether Cymric or Teutonic is hardly apparent to the archæologist be he sciolist or sage. These are Dr. Price and his daughter, of Pont-y-Pridd, Glamorgan. Dressed in a short velvet jacket or hunting suit, with an enormous foxskin cap, sword, and flowing beard, this gentleman, eccentric even amid Gorsedds and Eisteddfods, personates a primeval British physician—or rather *is* one —and wears his uncouth costume with accustomed ease and grave composure, though it suggests not so much one of the great healers of Myddfai,[1] as a Latian Flamen, or an Indian Sagamore. But the girl by his side in a long scarlet robe, with the paternal head-dress of foxskin, sitting statue-like before thousands, and silent, cold, and unimpassioned among her voluble and wondering sisters—is she not a young Boadicea, or Myvanwy, or Eiluned *galon galed*, of the hard heart! The effect is not pleasing; it is a transcript of pride or pain which mars the genial harmony of the Eisteddfod, and presents no fair portrait of womanhood.

The great feature of this festival, however, is not the bards, or the musicians, or the orators, or the visitors,

[9] Myvyr is, we suppose, the most profound living exponent of the uncompromising Pan-druidic philosophy, as Ab Ithel was of the philosophy which unites the old cultus to the Christian faith, and connects the principles and practice of the Bards with the virtues and humanities of all time.

[1] Meddygon Myddfai, the Physicians of Myddfai, in Caermarthenshire, in the thirteenth century. The very curious volume of their medical practice, published for the Welsh MSS. Society, was edited by Ab Ithel.—(See *post.*)

but the audience, the four or five thousand crowded within the spacious tent. That a few enthusiasts should meet together to rehearse the ancient ceremonies of the Gorsedd, or invoke the competitive Muses of the Eisteddfod, is perhaps neither surprising nor important. But that thousands of the Welsh *people* should come from the plough, and the loom, and the forge, and the shop, from distant homes and daily duties, with little money, and with the certainty of inconvenience and expense, in order to take part in a celebration which to an English understanding offers little more than a concert mixed with recitations and speeches; is indeed a convincing proof of the depth and extent of nationality in Wales. As each vehement address is delivered, or clever *englyn* exploded, or well-contested prize adjudged, the appreciation of the audience is emphatically marked; nor seems there less interest manifested, though it be of a calmer sort, in the essays, poems and adjudications read. But it is when the harpists strike together some endeared household melody, some ravishing strain of a thousand years ago, as Gray said; or when the master hand among them evokes some plaintive refrain of afflicted love or despairing valour; and chiefly when the trained singers of the Principality greet their countrymen and countrywomen in songs where all Eisteddfodic elements are blended—poetry, music, eloquence, wit—it is then that the vast assembly throbs with one pulse, *calon wrth galon*, heart to heart, and glows with the inextinguishable fire of the Cymric race.

PROPOSED MEETING OF THE CAMBRIAN INSTITUTE IN BRITTANY.

Many of the Subscribers to the Cambrian Institute have felt and expressed during several years past, a strong desire that an aggregate meeting of the Members should be held in some central place in the Principality, rendered interesting by its antiquarian and historical associations, for the purpose of visiting objects of antiquity, tracing their origin, discussing their use, and reading papers on Philological, Genealogical and Historical subjects in general. For various reasons, however, no steps hitherto have been taken to assemble the Members in Wales in the manner proposed. But a few months ago one of the Governors of the Institute—the representative of two very ancient families, the one Welsh and the other Norman, and who himself takes a deep interest in the study of Celtic archæology (we allude to our respected countryman, Sir Thomas Davies Lloyd, Bart.)—suggested to the Treasurer of the Cambrian Institute that an attempt should be made to hold a meeting in Brittany during the summer or autumn of the present year. Acting upon that suggestion, communications were forwarded by the General Secretary and Treasurer to well-known Breton gentlemen resident in France to ascertain their feelings and views relative to the proposed meeting. The following letters contain their replies to our communications, from which our readers will perceive that the proposal is very favourably received by our Breton brethren across the channel. Being closely allied to us by blood and speech, they appear to be most anxious that we should visit their country, and re-establish the friendship which anciently existed between the Cymry of Wales and the Bretons of Armorica. Having thus explained fully the preliminary negotiations as far as they have proceeded touching the projected meeting, we must express our earnest hope that the movement will receive a spirited and energetic support from our readers, that it may be successfully carried out. The place and time at which

the meeting will be held, with such other arrangements as shall have been entered into, shall be announced in our next Number.

To the Rev. T. James, General Secretary of the Cambrian Institute.

Chateau de Keransker, near Kemperlé, (Brittany,)
March 20, 1865.

Sir,—You must have wondered at my long silence, and it is more than time that I should break it. If I have not answered you immediately after the receipt of your letter, it has not been my fault. I should have liked to have been able to do so in a satisfactory manner, but several obstacles stood in the way.

Living in a country where you enjoy liberty, it is difficult for you to understand what takes place in ours where we have not the same advantage.

The Breton Association, founded amongst us in 1842, in the interest of Archæological and other studies, and of which I had the honour to be President, was dissolved by a resolution of the Minister of the Interior in 1858, approved by the Emperor. Since that time the Breton Congresses have ceased, and that which ought to be held at Vannes has been forbidden, after the ministerial decision.

Instead of a centralized society which each year held its scientific sittings sometimes on one point, sometimes on another, respecting Brittany, and which proceeded exactly like your learned societies, we have nothing more than small local associations such as that of Rennes, of Nantes, of Kemper, of Brest, and of Vannes. This last is the most important by its labours and its Celtic discoveries, and upon my representation, it shared in 1861 the grand annual prize for national antiquities with the department of Doubs. But none of these particular Societies embrace in their object the whole of the studies which occupied the Breton Association, and all neglect philology and Celtic poetry, to which I attach the same value as the Cambrian Institute. It would be, however, possible, thanks to the intervention of our President, Prince Lucien Bonaparte, to form anew the dispersed elements.

In case his imperial patronage gives us a liberty which we have never abused, I should communicate with the Committee of the Polymathic Society of Morbihan, and my ancient colleagues of the Committee of the Breton Association to prepare for the Prince and yourself a suitable reception at Vannes, where you would find all arranged according to the programme of your letter.

You do not however speak of the time when you intend to honour us with your visit, which is also an important point. As for myself, I shall only be free from the 15th of August to the end of October. In this interval, whether you come to a congress, or to see me as a private individual, you shall be very fraternally received. In default of a hall and an auditory more worthy of you and of your friends, you would find in my manor a cordial hospitality, and a Celtic *Cicerone*

quite at your service. However it may be, I offer you willingly, and pray you to accept this hospitality,

Sir and dear Brother,
Kas ni c'haro
Kenvzeur Kymro,
VISCOUNT H. DE LA VILLEMARQUE,
Member of the Institute.

To Mr. R. Mason, Treasurer of the Cambrian Institute.

SIR,—I have been very tardy in thanking you for the most obliging communication with which you kindly favoured me two months ago in reply to the letter[1] which accompanied the transmission of my pamphlet, "The Celts of the XIX. Century." A somewhat lengthy indisposition, and more especially the wish to reply in a satisfactory manner to the questions you asked in your letter, are the two causes of my long silence.

Permit me, Sir, to tell you in the first place how grateful I am to you for the kind reception you have accorded to my communication, and how delighted I am at the hope you hold out to me of seeing the translation of my work inserted in the *Cambrian Journal.* If you will kindly send me the proof sheets, I will return them to you without delay, after having corrected them with the greatest possible care.

The announcement of the regular relations that the *Cambrian Institute* proposes to keep up with the *Breuriez Breiz* greatly delights our Armorican brotherhood. Unfortunately our Society has not yet any periodical publication specially belonging to itself, but it offers you in exchange for the *Cambrian Journal* the *Review of Brittany and Vendée,* for which several of our fraternity write, and which is managed by one of the most active and important members of the Old *Breton Association.* I send you this day the numbers for the year 1864, and those which have already appeared for the year 1865, in charge of Gaudet, fréres, Paris, Pickford & Co., London and Liverpool. I do not know whether this agency can undertake to forward the parcel as far as Tenby, therefore I beg you, Sir, in case you hear no tidings of it, to be kind enough to inquire for it in Liverpool at *Pickford's & Co.* Our *Review* will receive your Journal in exchange (comprehending 1864, is it not so ?) and will pass it on to me, authorising me, I suppose, to extract and translate that in it which will be likely to prove of the greatest interest to its readers. I will also undertake to forward the *Cambrian Journal* to those of our fraternity who may wish to read it.

It also affords the Bretons of Armorica great pleasure to hear of the project of their Welsh Brethren to pay them a visit this coming summer. They are very impatient to see this project carried out, and even before knowing that which you communicated to me on this subject, several of my fraternity had written to me, expressing the same

[1] For M. de Gaulle's first letter, see *ante*, p. 2.

desire. Our President, M. le V^te^ de la Villemarqué has received Mr. T. James's (*Bard Llallawg*) letter, and he is only waiting to reply to it, until matters should be rather more advanced. Several members of his family have been ill, and he himself has been a great sufferer these last few months, which has prevented him and perhaps may still prevent him some time longer from coming to Paris. He ought, he writes me word, to go to Kemper, Vannes and Rennes to meet his old fellow-members of the *Breton Association*, Messrs. Arthur de la Borderie, a de Blois, and a de Kerdrel. Unfortunately it is just possible that the organization of a congress such as we desire, may meet with obstacles on the part of the administration, but if the Old *Breton Association*, dissolved in 1858, which the *Breuriez Breiz* seeks to revive upon a more modest basis, cannot itself hold the projected assembly, it will be necessary to leave the direction to a particular Society (probably that of the *Morbihan*). The delegates of other Societies and the principal French Celts will doubtless agree to unite.

You asked me, Sir, to give you a list of the persons who will probably compose the provisional Committee. There are for Brittany, along with M. de la Villemarqué the three gentlemen already named, and doubtless Dr. Fouquet, the President of the Antiquaries of Morbihan. I think that they will employ at Paris as colleagues Messrs. Aurèlier de Courson, and Henri Martin, who has written me a long letter in which he expresses great sympathy with our projects. It would take too long a time to name all the influential Bretons, whose presence and co-operation we hope to have at the Congress, nevertheless, if you wish I will give you the names of a great part of them in a future letter. At the same time I cannot pass over in silence the Lord Bishop of St. Briern and Trèguier, who has written to me, applauding the projects developed in my pamphlet.

May this patriotic reunion of the coming summer be truly worthy of the two brother nations which there desire to avow their common origin, and there renew the bonds of an ancient alliance. May it be the first link in a chain that nothing shall henceforth break asunder.

Permit me, Sir, to express my feelings of honour and esteem,—for ever your fellow-countryman aboriginally from the heart, and your respectful and devoted servant,

CHARLES DE GAULLE,
(Barz Bro-C'hall, Secretary to the Breuriez Breiz,)
Grande Rue, No. 134, Vaugirard, Paris.

March 10, 1865.

Postscript.—Several of the members of the *Breuriez Breiz* wish to learn Welsh, but unfortunately many of them are ignorant of English. I have for some time intended to translate into French, an English and Welsh Grammar, and add therein a comparison between the Breton Armorican. I wish also to construct an Elementary Grammar in Breton. I intend to write on this subject to Mr. Rowland, to ask his permission to translate his excellent Grammar, or at least a great portion of it.

I take the liberty of reminding you that I shall be very glad to know if there have been any results from the project of a *Welsh Colony in Patagonia*, of which there was a talk in 1862; *at any rate I wish to know of whom I can make inquiries about this subject.*

To avoid all constraint in correspondence, I beg those persons who wish to make any communication to me, to do so in English. I understand the language, although I dare not hazard a long letter in it. My hope, however, is, that in a few years all communications between Wales and the Armorican Societies will be made in Welsh.

The weekly newspaper in Breton, of which there is mention made at the end of my pamphlet, is in a prosperous condition. It has only existed a month, and counts already 1200 subscribers, of whom three are in Great Britain, and two in Denmark—to be had from Salaün at Kemper, price six francs for France. Hitherto it has been written in a Breton greatly mingled with French, but measures are being taken to improve it.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the Cambrian Journal.

Sir,—Will you be so good as to allow me to ask you some questions? I inserted them (or asked them?) in the newspaper entitled "l'Intermédiaire," (*French Notes and Queries*) on the 1st of June, 1864; but I have heard nothing respecting them.

1.—"*Welsh Colony in Patagonia.*— . . . . A little more than a year ago, the 17th of December 1862, I read among the *various articles* of the *Gazette of France*:—

"'An individual representing a Welsh Emigration Society has left England by the last steamer in November, for Buenos Ayres, with the object of deciding upon the most favourable spot to found an establishment upon the Patagonian coast, and in the second place with a commission to enter into a negociation with the Argentine Republic to obtain, upon the condition of a purely nominal allegiance, a portion of territory which should be exclusively colonized by the Welsh. A small group of enthusiastic Welshmen have expressed a dread of seeing, ere long, the Welsh Language become extinct, and at the same time the national customs and titles disappear. They can think of no better way of averting this calamity than to form a colony to be governed by Welshmen, and of which all the affairs should be treated in Welsh. These men have shown the greatest activity in trying to realize their scheme; they have fixed upon the Peninsula of Wades (*sic*) (without doubt the Peninsula of *San Jose* or of *Guarda*) or its vicinity, in Patagonia, towards the 43rd degree of South latitude,

finding that this was the only place in the world adapted to their project.'

"Have there been any results from this project, of which the intelligence has excited a very lively sympathy among all those of our Bretons who have heard of it. What is this Welsh Emigration Society? How can one procure information on this subject?"

I think that project is a very good one. I was very glad to hear of it.

I am desirous to ask you something about it, since I am in search of information respecting it. What intelligence can you give me about it? Will you be so kind as to tell me where the persons reside who apply or interest themselves in its behalf? or who regulate the movement? What sort of persons are they? Do you know any of them?

2.—"*The Welsh periodical press.*—In a small treatise entitled, *Lower Brittany and the Country of Wales*, Paris, 1860, p. 40, the Rev. Mr. Williams says that there appear in Cambria, in the language of the country, two quarterly publications, of which the one is a Review, the other an Encyclopædia: the monthly publications are fourteen in number, and the weekly newspapers five in number. Where could one get more particular information about these publications? How and at what price could one subscribe for them in France?"

I am now learning the Welsh Language. I begin to understand it a little. I should like to have one newspaper, and also Welsh tunes, if I could get them without difficulty.

3.—"*Who is Rebecca?*—In his *Historical and Archæological Almanac of Brittany*, for the year 1861, M. de la Borderie gives in page 177 and the following ones an ancient Armoric popular song upon the old woman Ahès, a symbolic personage who appears to have been the personification of the Roman sway. 'The popular genius,' he adds, 'especially that of the Celtic races, abounds in fictions of this kind. If one seeks for quite recent instances of this, and, so to speak, living ones, one has but to recall the Rebecca of the Welsh, so celebrated a few years ago on the other side of the British Channel.'" Who can give me the key to this enigma, and tell me what is hid under this mysterious name of Rebecca.

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N.B.—All communications other than letters (as books for instance) or newspapers that should be sent to "Breuriez Breiz," (which is the Association of Brittany) may be directed,—in order to avoid expense, —to M. Eugène Cotte, chez MM. Gaudet, frères, and sent on that account, to *Pickford & Co., Liverpool*, or *London*, Gresham Street, who are correspondents of Gaudet, frères.

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EDUCATION IN WALES, AND THE PROPOSAL FOR FOUNDING A WELSH UNIVERSITY.

By the Rev. G. EDWARDS, M.A., Rector of Llangadfan, Montgomeryshire.

THE education of the people is a subject which of late years has attracted general attention throughout the country. It has been discussed frequently in the columns of the public press, as well as in the great council of the nation. And no doubt it will continue to attract public notice as knowledge and science advance, owing to its vast importance as regards both the temporal and eternal welfare of the people at large. For as the wealth and the resources of the community increase with such rapidity, and as the inhabitants of the country multiply at such an unprecedented rate, so the only safeguard, under Divine providence, against those sudden revolutions which have already brought about the destruction of many powerful kingdoms, must be looked for in the growing intelligence of the masses. For the physical power of the million, if not restrained by the fear of God and the

knowledge of their duty, will be always an object of apprehension. And for that reason the rulers of a kingdom may be considered to be responsible in some degree for the moral and religious training of the subjects thereof, in the same way as the parents of children are answerable for the bringing up of their own offspring. And there can be no question for the rulers of a country to consider, of greater urgency than this, nor one more necessary for them to devote their time and attention to carry into effect in the best manner. The most suitable and effectual means ought to be employed to promote the kind of education which would be best adapted to instruct the people in their duty, and to teach them their responsibility, both as members of a civilized community and heirs of immortality. For to insure success much will depend upon the suitableness of the means adopted as regards the different situations and peculiar circumstances of the people in various parts of the country. For it is well known that the same means will not be always applicable, under every change and variety of circumstances, to attain the same end. The physical character of many parts, the moral and religious condition of the inhabitants varying much in different places, will render it difficult to apply one general rule with success, in the education of a large and populous kingdom. As for instance, the means which might be applicable to many parts of England, might not be adapted to Ireland, and a system of education which might succeed well in London, might prove an entire failure when applied to Wales or Scotland. One general principle indeed may apply to a whole community, but that principle must undergo certain modifications in order to meet the peculiar circumstances of the several parts of that community. And this brings me to consider more especially the peculiar circumstances of the Principality of Wales, and the system of education best adapted to its present exigencies.

Education, both secular and religious, has made considerable progress in Wales during the last fifteen years, but still there is abundance of room for further improve-

ment. The peculiar circumstances of the Principality, cut off by its natural position from other parts of the kingdom, its mountainous character rendering many places almost inaccessible during a considerable portion of the year, inhabited by the descendants of the aborigines of the soil speaking a language venerable and distinct, the cultivation of which has been neglected by the dominant section, are in themslves sufficient causes to retard the spread of education in the general acceptation of the term. And the history of the country since it was forced into union with England, the way in which its just and reasonable claims too often have been disregarded, the many abuses which have crept into its educational and religious institutions, and the manner in which its inhabitants have been treated generally by persons in authority, are additional reasons why the state of education therein may not be expected to be of a satisfactory character. When the subject therefore is fairly and impartially investigated, it will be found probably that it is owing to the superior intelligence and natural energy of the people that Wales is not at this moment in a worse and more degraded state than any part of Ireland. But however unsatisfactory the moral and religious condition of the people may be, yet the statistics of crime in the Principality, and the orderly and peaceable habits of the inhabitants in general, clearly prove that the precepts inculcated in the Sacred Volume, so much read amongst them in their native language, have produced a most salutary influence upon their lives and conduct. The great improvement also which has been witnessed in the state of secular education during the last few years, is an evident proof that much more might have been effected in that respect, had a due amount of attention been paid to it in times gone by; and it may be considered to be a good omen of what may be expected in years to come.

From the time that the Principality was brought under the government of the English crown by Edward I., who slew the last of its Princes, and erected those menacing fortresses which, to the present time, stand to attest

the severity of the struggle, Wales has been considered to have been virtually a part of England. The people, nevertheless, have retained their vernacular language, and many of their ancient customs, to this day, and on that account they appear, in some respects, like a distinct element among the other inhabitants of the kingdom. Whatever change may have occurred in their political position, or however their religious views and belief may have altered, yet their language has survived every revolution both civil and ecclesiastical. The Holy Scriptures, and the Book of Common Prayer, having been translated into Welsh at the Reformation, have rendered Wales Protestant in its religion, and decided the destiny of its ancient language, by conducing probably to its future and immortal existence. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth Grammar Schools were founded in some of the most important localities, which were principally the largest towns, both in North and South Wales, in which the surrounding residents were enabled to obtain primary education for their sons at an inexpensive rate. But the means of education throughout the Principality in general at that period, and after that time for upwards of a century and a half, must have been very limited and defective, though probably not more so than in other parts of the kingdom. And as there were no facilities for instruction afforded for the benefit of the mass of the people, they could not have made much progress in acquiring an acquaintance with the various branches of learning. Several persons, it is true, distinguished themselves in promoting the interests of true religion soon after the era of the Reformation, but their efforts, however well directed, could not possibly reach the masses at that time, though they undoubtedly paved the way for others to do so at a future period. Among such as were eminent benefactors of their country then, and down to the commencement of the last century, may be mentioned the learned native prelates who translated the Sacred Scriptures into the Welsh language, the popular Vicar Prichard, who was the author of the *Welshman's Candle*, the Rev. Griffith Jones, of Llanddowror,

and the Rev. Thomas Charles, of Bala, who was the great promoter of Sunday Schools in Wales.

But the character and spirit of the times were such that, from the Reformation down to the commencement of the last century, little was effected by any general effort on the part of the persons who were then in authority, to better the moral and religious condition of the Welsh nation. The schools for first-class instruction, it is true, were established by authority, but the schools of Griffith Jones were the result of the voluntary efforts of that true and benevolent Christian. The Bible in Welsh, it is true, was ordered by authority to be placed in the churches of the Principality; but that Bible was first translated into the language of Wales, out of pure good will to their countrymen, by irresponsible individuals. The institution of Sunday Schools both in England and Wales originated in the efforts of Christian men in the middle class of society, to confer upon those around them the benefit of such religious instruction as their position and circumstances in life would admit of. In Wales these schools created a complete revolution as regards the religious state of the population. They were the means of teaching many thousands of the people to read the Scriptures and other useful books in their native language. Their influence was soon visible amongst the peasantry, and the movement which they produced is described by those who witnessed it, as if it were attended by something like supernatural effects. For, wherever they were established, profane amusements and immoral practices were at once abandoned in such places.

These schools continue still to occupy an important position in the religious education of those persons who reside in the purely Welsh districts of the Principality, and the beneficial result attending the instruction imparted in them is still very extensive, though perhaps not quite equal to what it was before the general establishment of day schools. The original idea of the institution of a Sunday School, as it existed in Wales, embraced a mixture of elementary instruction, friendly discussion

upon religious topics, and the exercise of religious worship.

Hitherto the education of the operative class in Wales had been left to be conducted almost entirely by the people themselves, assisted by a few benevolent individuals who were posessed of attainments of a higher order, such as Griffith Jones and Thomas Charles. These persons were deeply impressed with the evident necessity of adopting some practical plan for the general and effectual instruction of the people, in that age of worldly-mindedness and stoical disregard of the intellectual interests of the masses, when legislators and the employers of labour entertained the fallacious notion that to educate the populace would be to elevate them above their proper sphere in society, and render them dissatisfied with their condition in life. Hence when Joseph Lancaster and Dr. Bell were engaged in devising plans for the establishment of day schools for the education of the poor in England, Griffith Jones was similarly employed in the same benevolent cause in Wales. But his movement was only a precursor to a more important one in the establishment of the National Society which was soon afterwards founded, when the members of the Established Church began to apply themselves to the work of erecting schools, and of supporting them throughout the country, for the express purpose of educating the children of the poor. This Society, and the British and Foreign School Society, which have entered into the same field of labour in earnest, now in friendly rivalry carry on this important work upon a more extended scale. And to the schools of both these societies, in various parts of the Principality, it is gratifying to find that substantial aid is granted by the state, through the medium of the Committee of Council on Education. In addition to these may be mentioned the erection of buildings for the establishment of Training Institutions, where young persons intended for teachers of schools may receive suitable preparatory instruction to qualify them for the efficient discharge of the important duties of their vocation. With these several appliances in full operation,

the important work of education may be said to be making rapid progress in many parts of the country, and to be productive of the most satisfactory results.

But there are, nevertheless, many obstacles which considerably impede the success of the efforts which are made to promote education in some parts of Wales, which must not be overlooked. These consist of natural or territorial, religious and national impediments. In many localities the poverty of the operative class is such as to present a formidable barrier to the erection and support of efficient schools, whilst in the mountainous districts large tracts of country are found to be so thinly inhabited as to render it difficult to get together a sufficient number of children to form an average school. And many of the schools which have been already built are discovered to be in a very inefficient state for want of means adequate to support them, whilst in other places no school buildings of any description have been erected, because no funds for that purpose could be obtained. And rival schools have been opened, from a spirit of religious jealousy, in places where even one school could not be maintained in a proper state of efficiency. The employment also of a different language in the schools, from that of the family circle and the domestic hearth, by means of which every species of instruction is attempted to be conveyed, is another hindrance of some magnitude as regards the spread of education in the Principality. These several points of difficulty force themselves to notice whenever the subject is duly and impartially considered, and any system to be effective must fully meet them, and provide an adequate remedy.

The first difficulty to be dealt with is the poverty of the people, and their indifference in reference to the education of their children. The purely rural districts where no endowments exist, and no persons in affluent circumstances reside, from whom annual contributions in money might be obtained, are generally too poor to support an efficient school. That this is the case is evident from the statements made on the subject again and again in the

reports of the Commissioners and Inspectors. The hilly districts where no coal, iron, copper or other extensive works have been established, or where no slate quarries have been opened, are the poorest in Wales, because in them the inhabitants are either small tenant farmers or farm labourers. Of this description is the greatest portion of Merionethshire, and the mountainous parts of Montgomeryshire and Denbighshire, to which may be added the interior of Cardiganshire and Pembrokeshire, the country lying between Merthyr-Tydfil and Brecon, and adjoining the Eppynt Hills. In all these places the inhabitants are much scattered, and generally very poor. Whereas in the vicinity of large works, where the circulation of money is much greater, they are mostly better off, and much more able to pay for the education of their children. Besides, in most of the works, the proprietors or the managers take a lively interest in their workmen's children, which they evince either by contributing to the support of schools for their benefit, or otherwise making an arrangement with those in their employ to deduct weekly from their wages a small sum for that object. And most of the towns and villages on the sea-coast, or within an easy distance of a railway, which are visited by a large number of strangers during the summer months, by means of which their trade is extended and improved, are in better circumstances, and more able to pay for the education of their children.

The iron and coal districts of South Wales afford employment to a large number of persons, most of whom receive high wages; but they are represented as a class to be very improvident and extravagant in their habits, and often indifferent as to the cultivation of the mental faculties of their children. And whatever interest the masters of the works may take in the furtherance of education, yet the children themselves become so soon a source of pecuniary support to their parents, that they are taken away from school at an age so early as to preclude the possibility of their being able to attain an amount of useful knowledge likely to be of much service to them in

after life. At Merthyr-Tydfil the average duration of time spent by the children of the workmen at school does not exceed eighteen months. The districts of the iron and coal works of North Wales, which extend from the neighbourhood of Llangollen, through Rhiwabon, Wrexham, and part of Flintshire, down to the sea-coast, partake in some degree of the character of the mining districts of South Wales. The shortness of time spent by the children at school, and the irregularity of their attendance, are sources of complaint, not only in the mining parts of North and South Wales, but also throughout the mining and manufacturing districts of England. When they are removed from school at the age of nine or ten years, their mental faculties cannot be supposed to have undergone much cultivation, nor can they be expected to turn the little learning which they may have acquired, at that early period of their life, to much substantial advantage. And until some provision shall be made to insure their continuance at school for a certain period, and to a definite age, there can be no immediate prospect of a change for the better.

In order then to extend the facilities for instruction, and to raise the standard of education among the operative class in the Principality, means must be obtained for promoting the erection of suitable school buildings in the poor districts where no schools exist. And as such buildings cannot possibly be erected by the application of the voluntary system, even when assisted by grants from the Committee of Council on Education, so neither could the schools themselves, when established, be carried on efficiently, without the aid of some practical plan capable of general adaptation for raising funds for their support. The plan which is proposed for effecting both these objects is by means of a rate laid on the property of the district, and of grants either from the Committee of Council on Education, or from the Consolidated Fund. The efficiency of schools in Scotland which are supported by rates, sufficiently prove that such a plan as that which is here propounded, may be adopted with undoubted success in

a thinly inhabited and poor country. And the opinion seems to be gaining ground in the public mind, that as the mode in which school premises are at present erected, and the general efficiency of the schools maintained, is both inadequate and harassing, so a different scheme, better adapted for universal application, should be adopted throughout the kingdom. Whatever may be the case with reference to the maintenance of schools for the benefit of the poor in the wealthy parts of England, it must be admitted that in the poor districts of Wales they cannot possibly be sustained without some permanent sources of support, such as those which are here indicated. And, moreover, persons who are well qualified to form a trustworthy opinion on the subject, affirm the urgent necessity of adopting a rate for education throughout every part of the kingdom. The Rev. W. J. Kenedy, one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools for the populous and important district of Lancashire, and of the Isle of Man, thus sums up in one of his Reports his views upon this subject:—

"There are ten propositions on the subject which my observation leads me to affirm.

"1. Elementary schools in general are not at this time adequately maintained.

"2. There is not a fair prospect, on the present system, that they will have a sufficient annual income.

"3. On the contrary there is, in the majority of places, a decline of income.

"4. The endeavours to obtain yearly contributions to schools are vexatious, and the means sometimes resorted to for raising funds, such as high fees, and scales of fees, are injurious to the schools.

"5. There is a painful and injurious uncertainty about the efficient maintenance of schools, also pernicious fluctuations of income, arising from such causes as the death of a benevolent landed proprietor, or of a liberal millowner, or the loss of a good master, undoing in a moment the work of years, and causing flourishing schools to fall into decay.

"6. Many districts are absolutely unable from poverty to maintain good schools without extraneous annual aid.

"7. In districts where there is no absolute deficiency of money,

or even where there is wealth, the schools are often suffered to languish, from parsimony, or from indifference, or from hostility to education.

"8. It is desirable to abate the jealousies and ill feeling often at present engendered among different religious denominations by contests for subscriptions to schools, &c., and to enable every deserving school to have an independent income.

"9. It is often very desirable, but not feasible through want of means, to admit some of the scholars free to the schools, and in some cases wholly free schools are requisite.

"10. The above-named evils cannot be remedied, nor the wants supplied, by any other means than by a rate for education."

There can be no reason for hesitating to state the conviction that these ten propositions are applicable, with even greater force, to the present educational state of the Principality, than to that of any part of England. The general indifference of parents to the proper instruction of their children, as things exist at present, would operate greatly against the success of any voluntary system of education which might be proposed for adoption. That this would be the case may be fairly inferred from the feeling which now commonly prevails in many parts where schools in a state of efficiency, supported at considerable expense, are in full operation. And their indifference is said to arise, in a great measure, from the fact that the education provided is found to be almost worthless. But this is not always, if in any instance, the real cause. The poverty of the parents operate no doubt to some extent in the case. For a poor man with a large family cannot afford to pay even the penny or twopence a week for each of his children who may be of proper age to attend school. The parents not having received much education themselves, may not perceive the necessity or value of it for their offspring. The small amount of instruction conveyed in a Sunday School is often deemed to be sufficient for their station of life; so that anything beyond that is seldom aimed at by persons in very humble circumstances. By them the value of a thing is usually estimated by the amount of profit which it will realize in

money. Not considering outward circumstances, they do not think anything can be of real benefit, unless it will bring with it at once some additional monetary advantages.

The average number of children attending any kind of a day school in Wales is less in proportion to the number of population than what it is in England. This is evident from the census tables of 1851. The number receiving instruction in schools in England and Wales together in that year was a little more than one-eighth of the entire population, whilst in Wales and Monmouthshire alone it did not amount to more than one-eleventh; and the result of the census of 1861 appears to have been still less favourable to Wales. This, therefore, is a state of things which requires the immediate application of some effectual remedy. It is not, however, so much the consequence of the want of school accommodation generally throughout the country, since in many places existing schools are not more than half-filled, as it is owing to the poverty and indifference of the parents. Some persons who have paid considerable attention to the subject, and whose opinion therefore is entitled to every respect, urge the expediency of making all schools self-supporting, as a means for insuring better and more regular attendance of the children, and for inducing the parents to set a higher value upon the instruction given. Such a plan put into general practice would tend, no doubt, to effect the ends in view, but at the same time it would conduce to diminish very materially the number of scholars throughout the kingdom, and especially so in Wales, unless some method could be adopted for paying the school fees on the advanced scale for the poor. In the rural districts, where the wages of labourers do not amount on an average to more than eight or nine shillings per week, it would be quite unreasonable to expect that the father of a family of five or six children of sufficient age to attend school, should be able to spare weekly fourpence or sixpence each for their education. The claim for the necessary supply of food and clothing, and for the

payment of rent, would be more than enough to consume the sum total of his small weekly earnings. And in the large works of the country, where wages are much higher, yet there the expense of living is much greater, whilst employment is very uncertain and fluctuating; so that what appears to be an advantage in one particular might not prove to be so in another instance. The result then of an attempt to constitute all schools for the operative class into self-supporting institutions, by advancing the payments of the children into fourpence and sixpence per week, would be that, in a very short time, the children of the poor would be excluded from them, whilst some of those of the middle class, such as are now sent to private schools, might possibly attend them. But a scheme of education, to be complete and efficient, must be general in its application. The children of the poorest in the land should be educated, as well as those of the wealthiest, and that, it is believed, cannot be effected except by means of an educational rate, and an enactment to render it compulsory on parents to send their children to school.

In several of the states of Germany every individual is under an obligation to place his children from the age of six years to that of fourteen in school, no matter what their circumstances may be. And in Denmark and Prussia a similar law is in force, by which all the children in those countries between the ages of seven and fourteen are required to attend some public school, and the children of parents who, on account of their poverty, are unable to pay the usual school fees, are educated at the public expense. However, to deal with this question in a summary manner, by means of a compulsory enactment to compel parents to send their children to some school until they attain a certain age, would be attended with no small degree of difficulty as regards certain parts of this country, and especially so with reference to those localities where children at an early age become a source of profit to their parents, and where a child of twelve or fourteen years may be able to earn half as much as a full grown person. But a compulsory regulation of this

nature would not be felt in Wales to be so much a hardship as it might prove to be in some parts of England, provided indeed its operation were to be limited to a period of seven years, the same to extend from the age of five to that of twelve years, and the expense of the schools were to be defrayed out of a fund raised by means of a general rate. The period thus proposed to be devoted exclusively to education would be shorter than that prescribed in many of the continental countries; but though shorter, if the proposition were to be carried out fully, the happiest results might be expected to proceed from its general adoption in the Principality, by the attainment of a higher standard of intellectual cultivation, and probably a standard equal to that of any other portion of the kingdom.

But in carrying on schools in Wales to be supported at the public expense in the way here proposed, a difficulty of formidable dimensions presents itself in regard to the religious instruction to be imparted in them, owing to the existence of so many denominational divisions among the inhabitants: for it is not intended that religious teaching should be altogether excluded. The question therefore naturally arises, what is to be its character, and what is to be the medium through which it is to be imparted, and whether some middle course may not be discovered which would meet the views and satisfy the wishes of all denominations of Christians? The members of the Established Church would not object to the Church Catechism and the Articles of Religion forming the basis of the religious instruction to be given to their children; and probably few of the Welsh Nonconformists, excepting perhaps the Unitarians and the Roman Catholics, would really disapprove of them, provided the portions relating to the Baptismal Covenant and the doctrines of the Sacraments were to be omitted. For on the fundamental doctrines of Christianity the majority of the Nonconformists agree in their views with those of the Church of England. And with respect to the Unitarians and the Roman Catholics, neither of them are numerous. Of the former

there are a few congregations in the southern counties, and of the latter some are to be found in the principal towns both in North and South Wales.

To exclude religion from the day schools, and confine the instruction to subjects of a secular nature, cannot be advocated, because such a plan would not be calculated to accomplish the main object of education for the operative and labouring classes, which ought to be the elevation of the moral character, which cannot be efficiently effected except by the teaching of the practical duties of religion. But if secular and religious instruction be combined, the one will assist the other, and both together, when duly applied, will conduce much to attain the object in view. In most places, no doubt, a considerable stress will be laid upon the necessity of teaching the children a knowledge of such things as may prove useful to them in after life. And that feeling may be turned to good account by uniting with the instruction desired, a certain proportion of moral training, without which indeed such knowledge cannot be attained. But every species of knowledge, without it has religion for its basis, will prove in the end as valueless as a tree without roots, or an edifice without foundation. It is very desirable that the religious teaching in existing schools should be rendered more practical in its character and tendency than what it appears to be at present, by every effort being made to enable the children really to comprehend what they are taught, and the object of it. In the use of all religious books, the children should have the subjects of which they treat fully explained to them, and suitable questions should be asked with the view of applying the lessons which they are intended to convey. The Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, together with the summary of their contents comprised in the Church Catechism, might be adopted without much difficulty in all schools supported by a parochial rate in the Principality. But if in any parish, the majority of the ratepayers should object to the use of such a formulary, then liberty should be granted to make choice of some other

mode of imparting religious instruction, more in conformity with their views, but in no case should the Bible be excluded, which should be used not as a class-book, but as the repository of religious truth, and the revelation of the will of God to man.

And if under such arrangements any of the parents should object upon some ground to the religious teaching, then by giving notice to that effect their children might be allowed to absent themselves from such instruction. The plan which was adopted by the present Bishop of Manchester, when he was at the head of King Edward's School in the town of Birmingham, would be adapted on the whole, it is thought, to the present circumstances of Wales. There the religious teaching was that of the Church of England, but to it the children of Nonconformists were not required to submit. In many national schools both in England and Wales, they are not forced to learn the Church Catechism, nor is their attendance at the services of the Church made compulsory. But in schools supported by a parochial rate, and under the control of a parochial vestry, some difficulty would be experienced in making an appointment of a competent master. A committee, however, of the ratepayers, duly selected by the vestry, would be able in most cases to select a fit and proper person for that office. And as such schools would be placed under government inspection, the qualification of the master for the efficient discharge of his duties, would soon be ascertained by the visits of the Inspector. The religious creed of the teacher might be the cause of jealousy in some instances, but that would soon be dispelled by a straightforward and impartial conduct on his part. In England members of the Established Church are not debarred on account of their creed from teaching in Nonconformist schools. It is quite true that the Welsh people are much alienated from the Church, and the circumstances of the country are in a great measure similar to those of Ireland. The land is chiefly owned by members of the Church, whilst the great mass of the inhabitants are separated from it. But unlike

the Roman Catholics in Ireland, these are disunited among themselves, and are divided into various denominations. But they all have one point in common with the Church, which is the free and unreserved use of the Scriptures, to the introduction of which into all schools in Wales, so as to constitute the ground-work of the instruction given, probably no objection would be offered. Thus the children of all denominations of Christians might assemble together in the same school during the week, and be under the same system of education, and on Sundays be at liberty to attend any Sunday school and any place of religious worship which their respective parents might choose. In other countries where the difficulties attending the existence of diverse religious creeds are even greater than in Wales, the impediments to the promotion of general education are overcome much in the way which is here recommended. In Austria the Roman Catholic as the national religion, is the one which is taught in the schools supported by the state; but the children of those parents who differ in their religious tenets from the doctrines held by the Church of Rome are not required to be in attendance when the religious instruction is imparted. In the schools of the various cantons of Switzerland the children of parents of diverse religious creeds are taught general subjects together; but during the period allotted to religious instruction they are allowed to absent themselves, when their teacher happens to be a person who professes a different religion. In France the same arrangement is observed, and is found to work in a manner highly satisfactory. If such a system then be attended with success in other countries, why should it not prove equally successful when adopted in the Principality of Wales? For when all things are taken into consideration, the difficulty, on the score of religious persuasions, which would attend the adoption of a general system of education, would be probably much less in Wales than in many other parts of the kingdom. The Church of England is Protestant, and the various denominations of Christians in Wales of any importance

are also Protestant; and for that reason both hold in common the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and would entertain probably similar views in regard to the use of the Bible in day schools. The difference which exists between the Church and the several denominations of Nonconformists in Wales relates principally to the mode of Church government, and some minor points of doctrine. But a system of education of the nature advocated in this article, would tend in the course of time to allay any feeling of mutual jealousy or antagonism on account of religious rivalry which may exist, by enlarging the sphere of knowledge to the next generation, and so enabling them to see things in a different light to their fathers, and rendering them more liberal in their views.

Another serious obstacle[1] in the way of promoting general education in Wales is the difference of language, the existence of which has been discussed more or less by all parties who have paid some attention to the subject. The only language in common use amongst the operative and labouring classes every where in the rural districts, and in almost all the towns and villages in the Welsh parts of the Principality, is Welsh; and the language taught in all the day schools, with perhaps very few exceptions, is English. Thus most Welsh children have to acquire not only the information itself, but also the medium through which it is communicated, during the

[1] It is a palpable fallacy to imagine that the existence of the Welsh language can be a hindrance to the progress of learning and education in Wales. The hindrance has been, not the existence of the language, but the systematic though hitherto ineffectual attempts made to bring about its extermination. Every nation is best taught the primary elements of education through the medium of its own vernacular. To advocate the contrary practice is to maintain a delusion and a snare. Instead of obstinately pursuing the present stupid plan of endeavouring to teach Welsh children English first, let the promoters of education in Wales alter their practice and try to ground them well in the knowledge of their own language, before they be allowed to proceed any further, and the result would be that they would subsequently find little difficulty in acquiring an acquaintance with English and other languages, which might prove useful to them in their career through the world.—Ed. Camb. Jour.

short period they remain in school. This is to them, it must be confessed, a great drawback, when their circumstances are compared with those of English children who possess the medium for receiving the information at the outset. And this is, to say the least of it, an unnatural state of things as at present carried on. For the effect of this plan in the purely Welsh parts of the country, is in most instances to teach the children to read a language which they do not understand, whilst they are unable to read their native language which they do understand, unless they have acquired an ability to do so by some other means than that of the day school. Ignorance of the language taught in the schools which were examined by the Commissioners who were appointed many years ago to inquire into the state of education in Wales was the real cause of most of the irrelevant and ludicrous answers which were published by them in their reports. The children were not ignorant of the facts referred to in the questions which were put to them, but they either did not understand the meaning of the questions themselves, or were unable to express in English what they did mean. And hence their answers were most absurd. Even many of the teachers themselves are very imperfectly acquainted with the English language, through the medium of which they profess to teach, nor can it be expected that it should be otherwise, or that they should become masters of two languages, until they are required to undergo a more perfect course of proper training, and be better paid for their labours, which the necessity of the times seems to demand.

If the present system is to be adhered to, then the question which offers itself for consideration is, how can Welsh children be efficiently taught through the medium of the English language, and how are they to acquire a knowledge of the language itself during the limited time which they may spend in school? This can be effected only by extending the period for instruction to six or seven years, and by employing a sufficient number of teachers possessed of the requisite qualifications.

But such teachers would not be likely to settle in any place without an adequate salary to remunerate them for their labours, and the prospect of a permanency.

Another difficulty to be grappled with is the scattered state of the population in the mountainous and other thinly inhabited parts of Wales, such as the rural and the inland districts where no large works exist, in which a sufficient number of children could not be obtained to form a school in each parish. Even with the aid of a parochial rate it would be difficult to support a good school in districts answering this description. And yet such isolated regions have greater need of an efficient educational machinery than any other parts of the country. The best plan, therefore, for supplying the peculiar exigencies of localities of this nature, would probably be for two or three adjoining parishes to unite together, in order to establish a good school in some central part most accessible to every place in the district. This plan would enable those children who are at present beyond the reach of educational facilities, to avail themselves of the means of instruction which do not now exist in their neighbourhood.

In order to teach Welsh children a thorough knowledge of the English language, a systematic mode of interpretation should be adopted, books in both English and Welsh should be provided, and object and gallery lessons should be more extensively given than at present, which would enable the teacher to communicate information to his scholars in more ways than one. Religious instruction should be imparted in both languages, where one would serve to explain the other. If any portions of the Church Catechism should be committed to memory, they should be so in both languages, and the questions and explanations relating to them should also be in both. The instruction thus given, though in its nature not extending over so wide a field as if it were communicated in one language, would nevertheless be far more effective, and much more likely to be of a lasting character. In those parts of the country where the inhabitants consist

of a mixture of Welsh and English, as is the case in towns and large villages near the English borders, and in the neighbourhood of the large works, both in North and South Wales, the children of Welsh parents will generally acquire a knowledge of the English language very soon by mixing with English children in the schools.

In most of the parochial schools in those parts of Scotland where the Gaelic language prevails, the teachers use the explanatory method of instruction. The pupils are carefully examined in the subject-matter and the words of every lesson they read. And the Gaelic is used as a medium through which to explain each lesson to them; and no sentence is allowed to be passed over until they are able to comprehend its full meaning. And whenever the Assembly's Catechism is taught the same plan is observed. The different questions and answers are explained in both languages, that is, in Gaelic and in English, and illustrated in the most familiar manner, so as to enable the children to comprehend every part thereof. And in order to carry on the same system of question and explanation in schools in districts purely Welsh, it will be indispensable that all the teachers employed in them should be well acquainted with both Welsh and English. For without a thorough knowledge of the two languages it would not be possible for them to explain their lessons to the children in intelligible terms, nor in fact would they be able to carry on any course of instruction with any degree of efficiency. To obtain a sufficient number of qualified teachers might be difficult, but the system of training at present conducted in the Institutions established at Caermarthen and Caernarvon, and the plan of granting graduated certificates of merit practised by the Committee of Council on Education, would do much towards furnishing the requisite supply for schools in immediate connection with the Church; and the prospect of receiving higher and more remunerating salaries would induce many persons of superior attainments in learning to engage in the work, whilst the numerous staff of pupil teachers now under instruction

would eventually make up any deficiency which might exist.

Without entering into unprofitable speculations as to the future and uncertain destiny of the Welsh language, regarding the continuance of which as a living speech present appearances seem to indicate a strong probability, it will be found more advantageous to deal with its use as it now exists. It is indeed difficult to conceive how, with the annually increasing number of newspapers, magazines, reviews, and books of all kinds issued from the press in Welsh, it ever can become a dead language. It is true that its sister language in Cornwall has died, and the Gaelic and the Irish are said to be rapidly losing ground. But the Welsh possesses a far wider range of literature, and a much greater number of printed books, than those three languages put together. And it is endeared to the people by associations which neither time, clime nor circumstances can efface. For Welshmen, when they settle in America, in Australia, in various parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland still retain its use. And they teach it their children, who hold it in the highest estimation, and become equally tenacious of its possession. How, under these circumstances, it can ever become extinct, is a problem which must be left to the revolution of ages alone to solve.

In addition to the means of education to be established in every parish as already recommended, the system here advocated would not be complete without a University for Wales on a plan similar to that of the Queen's Colleges in Ireland, to be founded in some central place between North and South Wales, and its expenses, such as the stipends of the different professors and tutors, to be defrayed by means of an annual parliamentary grant, which should contain stipulations for the admission on the foundation of a certain number of students in humble circumstances, and not able to pay the ordinary college fees for board and tuition. An institution of this description, with able scholars as professors in the various departments of learning, would be well calculated to give

a great impulse to the cause of education in the Principality, by raising the standard of the instruction given in the existing establishments, which are now languishing, and some of them almost worthless. If Ireland, in addition to the munificent grant annually made towards the support of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, deserved the establishment of three such institutions, surely it should not be too much to expect the foundation of one for Wales, from which the British sovereign's eldest son derives his title of Prince.

But the cry of justice to Wales is little heeded by the government, because that cry is not sufficiently persevered in, nor are the advocates of progress in the Principality sufficiently earnest in pressing the claims of their country. But the refusal or neglect of redress may kindle a popular commotion even amongst the most quiet and loyal portion of Her Majesty's subjects. Of this, it will be remembered, instances were furnished not many years since in the Chartist insurrection and Rebecca riots, which ought to convey salutary warnings to our rulers of what may yet occur. For it would be much easier to prevent such dangerous outbreaks, by removing their producing cause, than by smothering them when once they have been kindled into a flame.

A university of this kind, established upon a liberal basis, and possessing a decidedly national character, having power to confer degrees in Arts, Theology, Law, and Medicine, would be a great boon to Wales. But its success as a seat of learning, nevertheless, would depend in a great measure upon the qualification of its professors and tutors. There can be, however, no reason to doubt the possibility of its attaining as high a reputation in that respect as any other institution of the kind in the kingdom, provided there be an adequate endowment secured for its support, so as to make it worth while scholars of first-class talent and attainments to undertake its duties. In Scotland there are four universities conveniently situated and well endowed, which have afforded the youth of the country the opportunity of

completing the education which had been commenced in the parochial schools. Thousands have been enabled through their accessibility to avail themselves of the advantages of a collegiate course of instruction, who, had they been at a distance from them, as Oxford and Cambridge are from the inhabitants of Wales, would never have had the facility or the means of entering into them. Many a person whose income has not exceeded fifty pounds per annum has been enabled, because he resided in the immediate neighbourhood of one of these universities, to maintain one at least of his sons at college.

The establishment of a university for the Principality would probably be the means of recovering to the several Grammar Schools both in North and South Wales, which are at present almost deserted, their ancient reputation when they were filled with the most promising youth of the country; for doubtless it would serve to stimulate many of the inhabitants to give their sons a first-class education from their very childhood, which they could obtain for them at a moderate expense in those endowed institutions. And if the youth of Scotland penetrate into every part of the world, and display wherever they go their enterprising spirit in commercial pursuits, or their skill in the learned professions, so might also the youth of Wales do with suitable tuition to qualify them for engaging in either. At present the native talent of the country is checked in its aspirations at the very starting point by the consideration of the great expense to be incurred in giving a youth anything like a liberal education. There is, it must be confessed, a great waste of educational resources in many localities in Wales, occasioned by the entire absence of a proper system in their management. The endowments of the several Grammar Schools in the Principality amount in the aggregate to no less a sum than £5,000 per annum, with the outlay of which the benefit realized forms no approximation to a commensurate return. Some of these schools are inoperative, the money having been spent by their trustees, for the recovery of which no means or power

exists. Others are dragging along an existence almost useless, whilst the best of them produce no result proportionate with the amount of money expended upon them. But a Welsh University would be the means of infusing into them new life and activity, by making them its natural feeders, and opening to the most important and efficient of them a certain number of exhibitions, ranging in value from £30 to £50 per annum, to be tenable at the university for four or five years, in the same way as the Royal Scholarships or Exhibitions of the Commissioners of Education in Ireland are tenable at Trinity College, Dublin.

In any attempt made to benefit the Principality by improving its educational and literary position, one great drawback is the want of a central town or city of sufficient extent, wealth, and importance to constitute a kind of metropolis. Without such a centre as the fountain-head of erudition, science, and social elevation, no educational or literary scheme devised for the benefit of the country, and bearing upon it the impress of nationality, is ever likely to succeed. But if a University could be established in a town conveniently situated, already of some importance, and capable of further expansion, it would tend at once to raise that town to such a degree of eminence, as to become a kind of metropolis for Wales, or a centre, whence every movement of a national character would emanate. And there can be no great difficulty in getting such a University founded, if the inhabitants of Wales themselves would only take up the subject with determination and perseverance, and, through their representatives in parliament, impress the government with a sense of its urgent necessity.

The utmost confidence might be safely placed in the success of any scheme of education introduced into Wales, founded upon the principles detailed in this article, especially when it is considered what the inhabitants have done for themselves in the matter under the most unfavourable circumstances, and how many of the natives have risen from the lowest grade in society, and by

their own talent and energy attained to great eminence in the world as scholars, orators, and capitalists. Many of the eminent men Wales has produced during the last two centuries, were persons from the lowest and middle classes of society, who displayed an extraordinary degree of talent, industry and perseverance in surmounting every difficulty incidental to their birth and station, which impeded their career. Many whose early days had been wasted for want of the advantage of instruction, having acquired a taste for literature late in life, rose to positions of distinction, and attained imperishable renown. Of this class was Griffith Davies, F.R.S., who died some years ago in London. Up to the twenty-first year of his age he worked as a quarryman among the mountains of Caernarvonshire. His small savings during some years of labour enabled him to place himself under instruction for the short period of three months, during which he acquired a little insight into the first rules of arithmetic. On his return to the quarry, the slates he worked furnished him with ready means of practising the art of ciphering, in which he so much delighted; so that at every opportunity of leisure he both amused and astonished his rustic companions by the performance of wonderful feats in calculations far above their comprehension. This man strayed away from his native hills, and by chance found his way to London, and though for want of a competent acquaintance with the use of the English tongue, he there was refused the situation of a common porter, yet in less than five years after that, he appeared as the author of a work which stood high in the estimation of the leading scholars of the day. And before many more years had elapsed he became a profound mathematician, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and one of the most distinguished men in matters of abstruse calculations, on which he was esteemed among the first authorities of the age.

The Rev. John Blackwell, up to the twenty-fifth year of his age, followed his trade of shoemaker, when, by the liberal assistance of his friends, and the admirers of his

genius, he was enabled to enter at Jesus College, Oxford, where in due time, having passed through the necessary examinations, he took his B.A., and qualified himself for admission into Holy Orders. And when he had resided about four years at Holywell as Curate, his distinguished talents and high attainments brought him under the notice of Lord Brougham, then Lord High Chancellor of England, who presented him to the valuable Rectory of Maenordeivy, in the county of Pembroke, where he ended his days. For the power of his genius, his learning, his varied information, and his eloquence, he was renowned. The literature of his country he cultivated and adorned, his ability both as a Welsh and English writer being of the first order.

The Rev. Walter Davies was still more remarkable, both for his pursuit of knowledge under difficulties, and for his varied and extensive attainments. He is first heard of as a farmer's boy in Montgomeryshire, afterwards as an engraver upon tombstones, then as a schoolmaster, and about the thirtieth year of his age as a Bible Clerk at All Souls College, Oxford, where he proceeded to his degree, and was ordained to the ministry of the Church of England. He soon became a beneficed clergyman, and for above half a century contributed extensively by his writings, both in Welsh and English, to enrich the literature of his country.

Richard Llwyd, the Bard of Snowdon, as he was styled, had only nine months' tuition, which he received before he had attained his twelfth year. At that age he was compelled to get into service, wherein he continued for many years, but in that capacity he availed himself of every opportunity afforded him to improve his mind, and acquire additional knowledge. He subsequently filled the responsible office of superintendent of a large demesne on the banks of the Conwy. Several works both in prose and poetry were published by him, which were received by the public with tokens of the highest approbation. He ended a life of integrity and honour

as a citizen of considerable note in the city of Chester, where he settled after his retirement from Wales.

The Rev. John Elias was, in some respects, one of the most remarkable men Wales ever produced. He never had the benefit of school instruction; yet in spite of all the disadvantages of a humble birth and the want of education, he succeeded in attaining the highest eminence both as a divine and orator. No mathematician could have arranged the subject-matter of his discourses in better order than he did; and no logician could have drawn from the facts so arranged more natural and correct inferences. His sermons contained much depth of thought, solidity of matter, and power of reasoning, and they were usually delivered with that thrilling and matchless eloquence which finds the readiest way to the hearts of the hearers.

Edward Williams, the Bard of Glamorgan, though in his daily occupation he never rose above the drudgery of a stone-mason, was a man possessed of strong intellect and extensive information, and stood high as a scholar and an antiquary. His early education amounted to mere nothing. His first knowledge of the letters of the alphabet he acquired by watching his father engrave them upon tombstones. His mother taught him how to read and write, and a few of the rules of arithmetic. With this meagre commencement he was enabled by incessant study, indefatigable researches, and unwearied perseverance, to become one of the most successful interpreters of ancient British lore that ever lived. He published several works in his lifetime, and left several others in MS., together with a very valuable collection of ancient Welsh MSS., extracts from some of which have been printed since his decease.

The number of instances of such characters might be greatly multiplied, both from among the living as well as from among deceased Welshmen, from which it may be confidently inferred that the Welsh people are naturally possessed of great vigour of intellect, and that the

most beneficial results might be anticipated from the introduction amongst them of an improved system of education. The means of improvement in this respect adapted to the exigencies of England, might not indeed suit the requirements of the Principality and its inhabitants, since both of them are surrounded with peculiar circumstances which ought to be taken into consideration. And the object in this article has been throughout to indicate the means which, it is conceived, would be best adapted to promote the end in view. But in advocating the merits of any scheme for the intellectual improvement of a whole nation, some difference of opinion will always exist as to its suitableness and sufficiency to meet the exigencies of the case, which nothing but the successful result of a fair trial would conduce to remove. However, as regards the question now under consideration, there can be no doubt, with the example of the past in view, that popular education in its most advanced form will serve to benefit Wales the most in its present state. Circumstances of various kinds have tended to prepare the country for the introduction of a higher order of mental culture, than that with which it has hitherto been satisfied. Whilst the world around is teeming with new inventions, and improvements in every branch of art and science, and every one is doing his best to move onward with the current, Welshmen are fully alive to the importance of the crisis, and bestir themselves to advance with the progress of the age. The facility of communication between different parts of the country, and the intercourse between the inhabitants of one part with those of another, will tend much to assimilate the taste, habits, and acquirements of the whole nation, whilst the advantages of such foreign improvements as will be calculated to elevate and improve the national calibre will be duly appreciated, and their use adopted without prejudice. This is already beginning to be the case with reference to the study of music, for the works of Mozart, Haydn, and Handel are now cultivated amongst the miners and quarrymen of Wales. The choicest portions of the pro-

ductions of foreign composers are communicated to the Welsh student in his own language through the medium of the Welsh press. And with such appliances for general education as have been herein delineated, put into full operation, the time would soon arrive when Welshmen would be found thoroughly qualified and prepared to explore the mineral treasures of the country, and dig them out for the benefit of thousands, and when it would be no longer requisite to send off for strangers from England or Scotland to undertake any work upon a scale of some magnitude. For it must be admitted that hitherto when any great work of art has had to be undertaken in the Principality; when a road has had to be carried under the base, or over the summit, or through the centre of some of its everlasting hills; or when an estuary or a river has had to be spanned over by a bridge of novel construction, to unite lands which had been separated since the time of the universal deluge, it has been found necessary to inform the thousands who crowded from distant parts to inspect and admire the triumph of art over matter, that a Telford, or a Stephenson, who had no connection with the country, devised the scheme, and carried out the wonderful invention. Whereas under an improved and effective system of education, with more favourable circumstances, the country itself would be likely to furnish men capable of undertaking such schemes as would be intended for the general benefit of the public. For it cannot be believed that the descendants of those mighty men who, in a primitive age, when the practical appliances of the arts and sciences were comparatively unknown over Europe, erected the stupendous structures of Stonehenge and Avebury, and raised the gigantic Cromlechau in many parts of the country, would be found destitute of mechanical skill, were they to undergo sufficient training according to the most approved system of modern times.

Wales, though its mountains and high hills in outward appearance are bare and barren, is nevertheless possessed of unknown wealth. Its resources as yet have not been

half developed. Its mineral deposits are of boundless extent. It has rich mines of coal, lead and copper, and even gold has been discovered in its mountains in sufficient quantity to yield to the extractor a remunerating profit. And it has the most extensive quarries of the best slates and flag-stones in the kingdom, together with iron, lime, and building stones in great abundance. These, as means of easy and ready transfer are multiplied, will be conveyed to distant parts, and become a source of increasing profit to the natives. The surface soil of Wales has not yet been made the most of, and the system of agriculture, though improving, is not in a satisfactory state. A considerable portion of what is now waste land is capable of being brought under cultivation. In all these sources of industry and wealth the march of extended education and practical knowledge will be followed by further development and general improvement. The country has in it all the elements of wealth and prosperity. It possesses commodious and excellent seaports. Railway communication has been opened to most of its large works and principal towns. The inhabitants themselves are intelligent and industrious, and such of them as quit their native soil and settle in the most populous and important English towns, generally make way in whatever business they embark. This redounds much to the national credit, when it is considered that in entering into competition with the natives of England and Scotland, the Welsh emigrants have the disadvantages of an inferior education to contend against, whilst it indicates that far greater success would probably have attended them in their business, had they been more thoroughly qualified for it by previous and suitable training.

But with all the advantages to be expected to accrue, in a temporal point of view, from the establishment in Wales of an improved system, with extended means of education, those of a higher and more durable nature should not be forgotten, such as embrace more especially the requisite preparation for a happy existence in a

future and eternal state. Whilst the acquisition of other branches of learning are more immediately advocated, the great fountain whence wisdom itself emanates should not be overlooked. Earthly light should not be allowed to dazzle the eye so far as to cause it to lose sight of "that true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." An intimate acquaintance with the contents of the Sacred Volume is the best foundation for every other kind of learning. And the salutary influence which that acquaintance is calculated to produce on the human mind is the most suitable preparation wherewith to commence the acquisition of all other kinds of knowledge; for it is affirmed by an inspired philosopher that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." But there is some danger lest earthly knowledge should be over-estimated, and Divine wisdom neglected and forgotten: lest, whilst people are taught how to improve the arts and comforts of life, they should at the same time be encouraged to slight or omit the momentous concerns of eternity. Not to include the latter would be to commit a fatal error. It would be like building a house upon the sand, which, when the flood of Divine wrath is poured out upon the world, would be swept away at once into oblivion. The great Teacher of mankind himself has said,—"Seek ye *first* the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you."

THE LATE REV. CHARLES HENRY HARTSHORNE.

It is our painful duty to have to record the decease of the Rev. Charles Henry Hartshorne—a member of the Council and a Governor of the Cambrian Institute, which took place very suddenly at Holdenby Rectory, Northamptonshire, on the morning of the 11th of March last. By his death not only the Institute but the country in general will sustain great loss. In the literary, especially in the archæological, world he will be much missed, for

highly cultivated as was his literary taste, it was as an archæologist and antiquary that he was principally distinguished. Indeed, so high was his reputation in this respect, that the late Lord Chancellor Campbell described him as "the most distinguished of modern antiquaries," and expressed a wish to visit the old abbeys and castles of the "Border Land" of Scotland in company with him. Thirty-six years ago, when still a young man, a high compliment was paid to Mr. Hartshorne by Sir Walter Scott, who, referring to a collection of "Ancient Metrical Tales," edited by him (Mr. Hartshorne), said,—"The editor of this unostentatious work has done his duty to the public with much labour and care, and has made the admirers of this species of poetry acquainted with many legendary poems which were hitherto unpublished and very little known." The great poet and novelist makes further allusion to the same book in his Introduction to "Ivanhoe." At that time Mr. Hartshorne was but little known to fame, but since then he has achieved for himself a foremost place in the ranks of archæological and antiquarian scholars, and his works are standard works of reference and of authority. The deceased gentleman, too, was ever ready to impart of his information to others; and but a few weeks have elapsed since, in apparent health and strength, he delivered a most interesting lecture in the town of Northampton on "The Scottish Borders" to the members of the Mechanics' Institute, of which society he was one of the vice-presidents.

Mr. Hartshorne was a Shropshire man, having been born at Broseley, in the county of Salop, on the 17th of March, 1802. He was educated at Shrewsbury School, under that celebrated scholar, Dr. Samuel Butler, afterwards Lord Bishop of Lichfield, and on leaving Shrewsbury he entered as a pensioner at St. John's College, Cambridge, in the year 1821, where he took the degree of B.A. in 1825. In that year he was invited by his friend the Earl of Guildford, who had been appointed by the government "Archon" over the University of Corfu, to accompany him to that island. In the course of the

journey thither the following places, amongst many others, were visited:—Verona, Vicenza, Venice, Ferrara, Bologna, Rome, Florence, and Naples. After some stay at Corfu he left for Smyrna, Ephesus, Persepolis, Thyatira, and Constantinople, and subsequently touched at most of the places of interest throughout Greece and the Ionian Islands. In the year 1826 he returned to England, and in 1828 took the degree of M.A. He was ordained Deacon in 1827, and Priest in 1828, by the Bishop of Hereford (Huntingford). In the latter year he married Frances Margaretta, youngest daughter of the Rev. Thomas Kerrich, M.A., principal librarian of the University of Cambridge, vicar of Dersingham, Norfolk, and prebendary of Lincoln and Wells. His first curacy was that of the parish of Benthal, Salop; the next that of Little Wenlock, in the same county, which he held from September, 1828, till the commencement of the year 1836. He then resided at Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, until taking charge of the parish of Cogenhoe, Northamptonshire, which he did in the year 1838, on the appointment of the Bishop of Peterborough. He was presented by her Majesty to the rectory of Holdenby in 1850.

Amongst his numerous literary productions may be mentioned, "The Latin Plays acted before the University of Cambridge," which was his first contribution to literature, and which appeared in the "Retrospective Review;" "The Book Rarities of the University of Cambridge," published in 1829; "Salopia Antiqua; or an Inquiry into the Early Remains in Shropshire and the North Welsh Borders," including a "Glossary of the Provincial Dialect of Shropshire," published in 1841; a lecture on the "Sepulchral Monuments of Northamptonshire," 1840; "Historical Memorials of Northampton," 1848; "English Mediæval Embroidery," 1848; "Memoirs Illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Northumberland," 1858, an extremely valuable contribution to the history of the Borders; together with an "Historical and Architectural Account of English Castles," now nearly

ready for the press, and "A Guide to Alnwick Castle," now passing through the press. In addition to these works, he was editor of "Ancient Metrical Tales," 1829, and "Fulke's Defence of the Translation of the Bible," published by the Parker Society in 1843.

Mr Hartshorne was also a contributor of many historical and architectural papers to the archæological and other journals. Among such papers may be mentioned especially his accounts of Caernarvon, Conway, Porchester, Lincoln, Castle Hedingham, Colchester, Orford, Rochester, and Rockingham Castles, Peveril's Castle in the Peak, Oakham, Bedford, Oxford, Powis, and Pontefract Castles; the Parliaments and Castles of Northampton, Acton Burnell; the Parliaments of Shrewsbury, Gloucester, York, Cambridge, Lincoln, Clipstone, Kenilworth, and Carlisle; the Royal Councils of Worcester, the Obsequies of Queen Catherine of Arragon, "De Montalto," "Early Remains in the Great Isle of Aran," "The Home of the Working Man," several papers on the Drainage of the Nene Valley, the Itineraries of Kings Edward I. and II., "Illustrations of Domestic Manners in the Reign of Edward I.," "Description of a Statue of Minerva Custos, and other Roman Antiquities, discovered on the estate of the Duke of Bedford at Sibson and Bedford Purlieus," "Extracts from the Register of Sir Thomas Butler, Vicar of Much Wenlock, in Shropshire," *Cambrian Journal*, 1861, p. 81; besides reviews of "Fellowes' Asia Minor," "The Memoirs of the House of Gournay," and "Stemmata Botevilliana," which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Gentleman's Magazine* respectively; and some valuable papers read at various meetings of the Society for the Promotion of Social Science, and published in the volumes of their Transactions.

Mr. Hartshorne was rural dean of the district of East Haddon, and honorary chaplain to their graces the late and the present Duke of Bedford, honorary fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, honorary associate of the Société Française pour la Conservation

des Monuments Historiques de France, one of the original members of the Athenæum Club, one of the founders of the British Archæological Association and Institute in 1844, and had been lately elected a member of the Roxburgh Club. He was on intimate terms with very many noble and literary men of the past and present time. He leaves a widow, and six sons and three daughters, to lament their irreparable loss.

THE PEDIGREE OF THE EVANSES OF LLANGELER, IN THE COUNTY OF CAERMARTHEN.

(Compiled from Ancient MSS., by the Rev. T. Evans, Rector of Goyttre, Monmouthshire.)

Sir Walter Havard,[1] of Pontwilym, near Brecon.

Sir John Havard = Anne, dr. of Sir Reginald Aubrey.

Sir Henry Havard

Sir John Havard

Jenkyn Havard, Esquire.

Walter Havard, Esquire.

Jenkyn Havard, Esquire.

Madoc Havard, Esquire. = Jane, dr. of Meredith ap Einion Sais.

Janet, m. Phillip ap Evan ap Howel Gam, ancestor of the Williamses of Llangibby Castle, Monmouthshire.

Meredith Havard, Esquire.

Jenkin Havard, Hên, or the Aged

Rodri Mawr, or Rodri the Great, King of all Wales. = Angharad, dr. and heiress of Meurig ap Dyfnwal ap Rodri ap Arthen Sitsyllt, King of Cardigan.

Cadell, Prince of South Wales who had a castle built for him at Dinevawr. = Rhiengar, dr. of Tudor Trefor, Earl of Hereford.

Hywel Dda, or Howel the Good. = Sian, dr. of the Earl of Cornwall.

Owen = Angharad, dr. and heiress of Llewelyn ap Merfyn.

Einion = Nest, dr. of the Earl of Devonshire.

Tewdwr Mawr

Rhydderch = Heynydd, dr. of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, King of Powys.

Meredydd Fras, Arglwydd haner Dyved. = Gwladys, dr. of Llewelyn ap Cydwgan ap Elystran Glodrydd.

Einion = Katrin, dr. of Bledri ap Cadifor Fawr, lord of Cilsant.

X Compare Pedigree I p. 24

Jenkin Havard.

John Havard, Grwca, or the Hunchbacked = Angharad, dr. of Morgan David Powel Vychan ap Einion Sais.

William Havard, Hên, or the Aged

John Havard, Tew, or the Fat, of Pontwilym. = Anne, dr. of Ieuan Morgan ap David Gam.

William Havard Esquire, of Pontwilym. = Joan, dr. of Lewis ap Richard Gwyn.

Thomas Havard, Esquire, of Pontwilym, High Sheriff for the co. of Brecknock in the years 1549 and 1555.

John Havard, Esquire. = —— dr. of Llywelyn ap Rhys, of Peytengwyn (as Mr. Edwards has it).

Harry Havard, of Dôlhaidd, co. of Caermarthen. = Elen, dr. of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, of Dinefawr (as Mr. Edwards has it).

Thomas Havard = — Sutton, of North Wales.

Harry Havard, Gent. of Goyttre, in Emlyn. = Mary, dr. of the Rev. Morrus Williams, Vicar of Llangeler, *circa*, 1613.

Morrus Havard

David Havard

David Havard

John Havard, Gent. = Mary Thomas, of Llangeler.

David = Elen, dr. of Gruffydd ap Ednyfed Fychan, Esquire, lord of Llansadwrn.

Iorwerth = Joan, dr. and heiress of Meredydd ap Cydwgan Vantach, and to Wyddno.

Kydwgan = Marged, dr. of Ieuan Fychan ap Ieuan ap Rhys ap Llowdden ap Llwyn Yeroth.

Rhys = Marged, dr. of Sir Elidur Ddu, Knt. of the Sepulchre.

David = Angharad, dr. of David ap Madog Foel.

Kydwgan = Nest, dr. of Gwilym ap Ieuan ap Kydwgan Fawr, of Cydweli.

Gryffydd = Mawd, dr. of Gwilym Fychan ap Gwilym ap Griffyth Ddu ap Griffyth Foel, of Llanfynydd, of the Garth, from Gwaithfoed.

Ieuan Lloyd, of Forest, Llanfihangel Rhôsycorn. = Gwenllian, dr. of Llewelyn ap Gwilym Lloyd, Esquire, of Castell Hywel.

Evan Llwyd =

David Llwyd = Lleucu, dr. of Llewelyn Goch ap David ap Llewelyn ap Cadifor.

David Llwyd = Catherine, dr. of William Jenkin ap Rhys David Thomas, of Blaentren.

Evan Llwyd = Gwenllian, dr. of Phē. ap Holl ap John Lloyd, of Blaenythan.

John Lloyd, of Pantcilgane. = Elizabeth, dr. of Evan ap David Llwyd, of Faerdref.

John Lloyd, Goch, or the Red. = Anne, dr. and coheiress of John Parry, of Tredefed.

William Lloyd = Elizabeth, dr. of John Lloyd, of Cilgwyn.

Griffith see Lewys Dwn VI. f 223 ↓ ⁂

⁂ From whom Sir John Lloyd Bart of Woking Co Surrey

John Lloyd = Joyce, dr. and heiress of Nathan Griffiths,[2] of Cilgynnydd, and Mountain Hall, in the parish of Llangeler. Her mother was Jane, dr. of Howell Philipps, of Dôlhaidd.

Benjamin Lloyd =

John Lloyd[3] = | Thomas Lloyd =

Anne, *s. p.* | Catherine, = Thomas Thomas, Esq., of Rhôsychen, heiress of Thomas Lloyd, Esq., of Pantcilgane,[3] in the parish of Llangeler. | in the parish of Trelech, wherein Catherine was buried, 24th May, 1770, and also Thomas Thomas, 19th of January, 1771.

Thomas Thomas = Mary Johns, of Trelech.

Rachel = William Jones, son of Richard Jones, Gent., of Penwern-fawr, in the parish of Llandygwydd, co. of Cardigan, by Hester, dr. of William Hughes, Gent., of Hendy, in the parish of Cilrhedyn, co. of Caermarthen.

Henry Havard = | John Havard, of Bristol, *s. p.* | Mary Havard, of Goyttre, = Luther Evans,[4] Gent. of Llangeler, son of Josiah Evans.

Henry Havard =

David, *s. p.* | Stephen, *s. p.* | Margaret = Thomas Smith Phillipps,[5] Esq., of Jeffreyston House, co. of Pembroke.

Elizabeth Phillipps = Rev. John Evans, B.D., Rector of Crickhowell, now living.

Methusalem Evans, Gent., of Llangeler. = Mary, eldest child of William Jones,[6] Gent., son of Richard Jones, of Penwern-fawr, Llandygwydd, co. of Cardigan.

Hannah = John James, of Dôlybryn, in the parish of Cenarth.

Rev. —— James, Curate of St. Thomas's, Lambeth.

John Evans, B.D., Rector of Crickhowell. = Elizabeth Phillipps, dr. of Thomas Smith Phillipps,[5] Esq., of Jeffreyston House, co. of Pembroke.

William Evans, B.D., late Vicar of Usk, Mon., deceased. = Louisa Caroline, dr. of W. A. Williams,[7] Esq., of Llangibby Castle, Mon.

Sam. Evans, Vicar of Marshfield, Mon. = Emma, dr. of Griffith Davies Bowen,[8] Gent., of Maeseglwys.

Thomas Evans, of Nantyderry House, and Rector of Goyttre, Mon. = Anne, only child of James Corfe,[9] Esq., of Goodwood Villa, Clifton.

[1] The surname Havard is an abbreviation of Havre de Grace—a sea-port town in Normandy, whence Sir Walter came into this country. He accompanied Bernard de Newmarch into Breconshire about the year 1096. Bernard, having conquered the territory of Bleddyn ap Maenarch, divided the county of Brecon into twelve

Lordships, one of which he granted to each of his twelve knights. To Sir Walter Havard he gave the Lordship of Pontwilym, where the family resided for sixteen generations. A moat, where once stood the ancient residence of the Havards, is still visible to some extent. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the part of the Priory Church at Brecon, now called "the Vicar's Chapel," was known as and called the "Havard Chapel" (Capel yr Hafardiaid). On the wall inside that Chapel is a stone bearing the date of 1661, on which is the family crest, viz., the Bull's head and three stars, with the motto, "In Deo spes est," together with the initials of Roger Havard, who is stated by Theo. Jones, the historian of Brecknockshire, to have bequeathed, in 1661, a pound a year to keep the said Chapel in repair. The foregoing facts would naturally lead to the supposition that the Chapel in question was originally built by the Havard family. There was a private walk to the Chapel from Pontwilym, which was distant about two miles. What induced the main branch of the family to leave Brecknockshire is not known. Before the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the Havards are found to be residing at Dôlhaidd, on the banks of the Teivy. Subsequently they are found at Cryngae Castle —a building which has been so completely demolished as to be now covered over with earth. The last portion of their patrimonal estate retained by the Havards was Goyttre, in Emlyn, where they resided for several generations.

[2] Nathan Griffiths was grandson of Dr. Field, Bishop of St. David's (1627–35), afterwards Bishop of Hereford. Dr. Field's daughter was married to the Rev. Thomas Griffiths, Vicar of Llangeler, the father of Nathan Griffiths, whose pedigree is traced up to Bleddyn ap Maenarch, King of Brecknock.

[3] The Pantcilgane estate, which was of considerable extent, was sold by John Lloyd in three lots. The principal portion, including the mansion-house, was purchased by —— Tucker, of Sealyham, in the co. of Pembroke, and by him it was subsequently sold to ——Lewes, Esq., of Llysnewydd. John Lloyd emigrated to America, where he died, leaving his infant daughter much property, which, in the event of her death without issue, was to revert to the nearest of kin to his brother Thomas's child or children. Anne Lloyd died without issue. Attempts have been made to trace the property which was left by her, but they have proved fruitless. In the will of John Lloyd, mention is made of his brother Thomas, who had not emigrated.

[4] Luther Evans was a person remarkable for his piety of feeling, and his sincere devotedness to the cause of the great revival in religion which occurred in Wales about the close of the last century. The Evans family, of Llangeler, are stated by the Lewes MSS., in the Heralds' College, to be descended from Hoedliw, lord of Iscerdin, in the parish of Llandyssul. He was Hoedliw ap Llawr ap Assur ap Morudd, King of Cardigan, ap Llywarch Llwyd, ap Garwed, ap Gwgan, ap Meirchion Gul, ap Gorwest Ledlwm, ap Ceneu, ap Coel Godebog, King of Prydain.

[5] The Phillippses of Jeffreyston are descended from Cadifor Fawr, and from Phillip, Lord of Cilsant.

[6] There is a tradition in the family of the Joneses of Penwern-fawr that they are descended from the same stock as Jones of Aberceilog, near Lampeter, from which branch came that devoted and distinguished clergyman, David Jones, of Llangàn—well known throughout Wales in his day as a highly popular minister. A branch of this family, many years ago, was also resident in the parish of Cilrhedyn, from which the Rev. Griffith Jones, of Llanddowror, is said to have descended.

[7] The Williamses, of Llangibby Castle, are descended from Caradoc Freichfras.

[8] The Bowens, of Maeseglwys, descend from Iestyn ap Gwrgan.

[9] The Corfes, according to an old tradition in the family, are descended from the Corfes of Corfe Castle, in the County of Dorset, and their ancestor is said to have come into England with William the Conqueror. The following extract, copied from an old Latin Register taken from Corfe Castle, and now in the British Museum, mentions a John Corfe as being at Corfe Castle above five hundred years ago:—

Lans. MSS., 968. 7. *b.*—die Jovis prox post Festũ translationis B. Thomæ Martyris 1354., Willus Barton Procurator Dñi Johis de Baddeley Canonici Sarum et Prebendarii de Combe et Harnham de consensu Johis Corfe Executoris testamenti Mag̃ri Willi de Saltun d ctæ Prebendæ Prebendarii defuncti.

Translation.—On the Thursday the next after the Feast of the removal of St. Thomas the Martyr, 1354, William Barton, procurator (proctor) of Sir John de Baddeley, Canon of Salisbury and Prebendary of Combe and Harnham, with the consent of John Corfe, executor to the will of Master William de Saltun, who was Prebendary of the said Prebend, now deceased.

[As the anniversary of the translation of the body of St. Thomas the Martyr, July 7th, in 1354, fell on Monday, the Thursday following, mentioned in the above extract, must have been the 10th day of July. —Ed. Camb. Jour.]

P.S.—The Havards, of Goyttre, erected a chapel called "Capel Bach," in the parish of Penboyr, in which Dôlhaidd, Cryngae, and Goyttre are situate, (these three places originally formed one estate,) and that chapel has proved, for a considerable period, a great accommodation and benefit to the neighbourhood. For, from the date of its erection, to the year 1862, Divine Service was regularly performed in it every Sunday in the afternoon. Its use is now, however, superseded by a beautiful church, recently erected at the sole expense of the Earl of Cawdor.

There is a river in Brecknockshire called Senny, which is supposed to have had its name given to it from the Seine in France. Along

the banks of the river Senny the Havards in old times had much property. Those of them who remained on its banks were Roman Catholics, and many of their descendants are so to this day. They were used to have a priest to administer to them from among themselves. It is not known at what time the elder branch of the Havards at Pontwilym became Protestants.

In compiling the foregoing pedigrees, the following books and MSS. have been consulted, viz.:—Vincent, Lewes, and Edwards MSS. in the Heralds' College; Hugh Thomas, Lewys Dwnn, and (the Pantcilgane family in) the Dale Castle Pedigrees, lately printed by Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart.

AB ITHEL.

The most noteworthy subjects for which prizes were awarded at the Eisteddfod of 1858 were the following:—

1. "Mineral Resources of Wales," £25, offered by the young men of Llangollen. Won by the Rev. John Jones, Baptist Minister, Llangollen, against one competitor.

Since the production of this valuable essay, the discovery and profitable working of gold in the Merioneth quartz has added great commercial importance to the mineral resources of the country, though hardly increasing their sterling usefulness. The tale of the Clogau Mine, and of the difficulties and triumphs of its possessor, would form a chapter as interesting, not to say romantic, as any from the Yarra Yarra, or the Sacramento.

2. "For the fullest illustration, from original sources, of the theology, discipline, and usages of the Bardic system of the Isle of Britain." Prize £30, and a bardic tiara in gold.

Only one production was received, but this, in the opinion of the three judges, was well worthy of the prize. "It consisted of 287 pages beautifully written, and containing probably the most complete dissertation and compilation on bardism ever collected together."[1]

[1] Cambrian Journal, 1858, p. 276. The judges were, Llallawg, Myvyr Morganwg, and Hirlas.

It is probable that only one man could have written this essay. That man was Ab Ithel. It is certain that no other Celtic scholar attempted it. When the mild and quiet druid-bard knelt according to old custom, before the lady who bound the tiara on his brow, the enthusiasm of the people was as loud as the satisfaction of the platform was deep. This essay became the nucleus of *Barddas*, and the Eisteddfod of Llangollen would have sufficient cause for gratulation had it produced no other fruit.

3. "The Chair Prize; for an *awdl* on the Battle of Bosworth Field, by which the Cymry recovered the monarchy of the Isle of Britain;" £30 and a medal. Although some exception might be taken to the form of this proposition, there can be no doubt that Bosworth did, in the person of a prince of Cymric descent, in some sense re-establish Cymric authority in Britain; but it may conversely be said with equal force that this authority was lost with the succeeding dynastic changes.

The truth may be better expressed perhaps by affirming that to the gradual ascendancy of peace, and the irrepressible advance of civilization, through six centuries of British history, Wales may ascribe her strongest title to conquest and independence—conquest in that she divides with England all national dignities and honours; independence in that she enjoys her own language, cherishes her own customs, and trusts in her own traditions.

Seven poems competed for the prize of the Chair, the highest the Eisteddfod could offer. The judgment was in favour of Eben Vardd. This was the final token of his supremacy as chief bard of Wales. He is now gathered to his fathers of the *awen*.

The awdl of Bosworth, his last work, is moulded by the firm hand of genius; it is high and ample in thought, strong and terse in expression; the theme is exhibited in all its dignity, and the language used in all its power.[2]

[2] It is creditable to the Committee of the Permanent Eisteddfod, that at their Llandudno Meeting, in 1864, one prize-subject was devoted to the life and genius of Eben Vardd: but is it creditable

4. "For the most numerous collection of unpublished Welsh airs," £10, and a medal. The winner, Mr. T. D. Llewelyn, Aberdare, had collected 125 airs. Another competitor offered eighty. This great addition to the number of the national melodies, which probably by no means exhausts the list of those unpublished, shows how prolific were the old *telynorion* and *penceirddion* of the Land of Song, and how tenacious have been their countrymen of these time-honoured relics.

5. "Love song, or *Rhiangerdd*, on Myvanwy Vechan." Prize, a silver birchen wreath, according to the old custom. This called forth most of the young lyrists of the Principality, and was awarded to one of the best of them, Mr. John Hughes (*Ceiriog*), for a very sweet and soft-flowing performance.

6. "Collection of Welsh proverbs not published in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*," £10. Won by Miss Williams Ab Ithel, who had discovered 5365;—a vast basis indeed for any philosophical superstructure which Mr. Tupper might erect, were he able to range these "fresh fields and pastures new."

7. "Capture of Rome by the Cymry under Brennus, B.C. 490,"[3] £20, and silver medallion of Roman eagle. The Rev. Morris Williams (*Nicander*), of Amlwch, was pronounced victor over five competitors in this *pryddest*.

The subject, however, may be classed among the instances where national vanity has violated historical propriety, as it cannot be shown that Brennus was a Cymro, or that he led the Cymry; still less that he owned the castle of Dinas Bran, as has been assumed by Mr. Morgan. He was in fact—if Livy is to be credited—a chief of the Senonian Gauls in North Italy; and his conduct in slaughtering the defenceless old men in Rome—to say nothing of the ransom, and the *Væ*

that no poem or essay should have been evoked for another of the Enwogion Cymru, as much lauded and as much loved—Ab Ithel?

[3] This date is wrong, for the event happened more than 100 years later.

victis—is not so particularly heroic as to make him worth claiming for any country.

8. "Discovery of America by Prince Madoc." Prose essay, £20, and a silver star. This assertion is justified by a far greater weight of probability than is the preceding one. After a careful examination of all available authorities, it must be conceded that a strong case is made out for the landing of the royal emigrant on the shores of the New World. It is now known, however, that the continent of America was *first* discovered, neither by Madoc nor by Columbus, but by the hardy Scandinavians, at the close of the tenth century, who landed at several points from Labrador to Massachusetts.

Yet the honour of planting a colony can hardly be claimed for these children of Odin, nor is there any better evidence in favour of Columbus. It is rather for the Prince of Gwynedd that the distinction is to be reserved. The theme was a very proper one for Eisteddfodic competition, and it attracted six writers, five of whom supported the affirmative proposition set forth by the committee, and one the negative proposition, by no means intended by the committee, that Madoc did *not* discover America. This last essay was therefore pronounced inadmissible, although the ablest of all in point of composition, as might be expected from the reputation of its author, Mr. Thomas Stephens, of Merthyr. No award, however, was made with respect to the other essays.

9. The last prize that we shall notice is the "Cambrian Gold Torque of Valour, for the best soldier in the 23rd or 41st Regiments, most highly recommended by his officers for courage and conduct in the field."

This was undoubtedly a very happy thought, both as regards the qualities to be rewarded and the character of the reward. The gold collar was the distinguishing and highly prized ornament of Celtic chieftains, equally well-known to Classical and Cymric writers, and to modern antiquaries who have exhumed it from the barrow or the

carnedd.[4] And no more fitting decoration than this ancient badge of Pendragon and Prince, could be bestowed on a soldier descended from the Silurian patriots, for exalted bravery well worthy of the race.

The recipient of the prize was Corporal Robert Shields, of the 23rd, who was strongly recommended by his officers on account of a distinguished act of valour in bringing in his wounded adjutant from the trenches of the Redan, in the Crimean war of 1855; and also on account of that moral courage and firm principle which had preserved his character unimpeached in the city as in the camp. As this gallant and modest Fusilier stood before the Eisteddfod, his breast covered with decorations, and was invested with the golden token which his Country had added to the gifts of his Sovereign and of her Ally, the scene acquired an interest transcending any that mere vocal and literary competition could afford.

Among the notabilia of the Eisteddfod may be cited the prize of £5, given to the oldest bard present who had gained an Eisteddfodic prize. Four old men competed, whose united ages were 298 years. The oldest, who had also gained the most prizes, was David Jones, of Llangollen. It was pleasant to see this veteran stand forth, and repeat, with much feeling, an englyn on the Wynnstay family, one of a set for which he had been rewarded at Ruabon in 1807.

Of the speeches delivered at the Eisteddfod, of the songs, improvisations, and anecdotes, little need be distinguished where nearly all was good. Some had scholarship and research; all had earnestness and fire. Carn Ingli thought and spoke like a loyal gentleman and

[4] *Vide* Pennant's *Tours in Wales,* vol. ii. p. 286. The Celtic torque is not to be confounded with the baldric of the Romans for suspending the quiver. The true torque is referred to in these lines of Propertius on Virdumarus:—

"Illi virgatis jaculantis ab agmine braccis
Torquis ab incisa decidit unca gula."—*Lib.* IV. *Eleg.* X.

The Cymric fathers of song make frequent mention of the *torch,* and the familiar current phrase, "Mi a dynna'r dorch a chwi," "I will pluck the torque with you," implies a hard struggle for victory.

fervent Welshman, Mor Meirion launched his energetic but somewhat too unqualified Cymricism, and the inextinguishable Llew Llyfo charmed his hearers by his vehement eloquence and Protean wit. Ab Ithel himself spoke little, but he was the head and heart of all; and he was well rewarded for his long and laborious efforts by the full measure of success that attended this great festival—a success not merely expressed by the support of the native Welsh, but by the effect on the opinions of English visitors of learning and judgment, as in the case of Mr. Francis, of Manchester, who stated in his address that this Eisteddfod had removed from his mind the prejudices he had long felt against the attempt to keep up a distinctive Welsh nationality.

Two subjects of much importance were introduced, the question of a monument to Llywelyn ap Gryffydd, and the question of a building for the regular purposes of the Eisteddfod, for the conservation of Welsh MSS. and books, and for the promotion of Welsh literature.

The first was suggested in a speech by Mr. Owen Wynne Jones, who, alluding to what had been for years proposed and discussed, and to the subscription in Scotland of £4000 toward a monument to Wallace, demanded "Shall there, or shall there not, be a monument to the memory of Llywelyn?" Vehement cheering, and shouts of "Yes," were the answer. The same has always been so. But *Vox et præterea nihil!* It is one striking peculiarity of the Welsh people that unanimity—or at least so much agreement as would be sufficient to give effect to a national proposal like this—seems utterly impossible among them. While there are many men so gifted with eloquence, so endowed with learning, and so warmed with patriotism, as to be fit leaders of the movement to give a statue or other monument to Llywelyn; and while there are thousands of estimable business men willing and able to subscribe to a memorial fund, and to arrange all necessary details; there yet seems a total want of that harmony and energy on the part of all, which alone can realise and substantiate a great purpose. It is thus that

a name, the theme of many an Eisteddfod, and the glory of many a signpost, is limited to the sentimental appreciation which proves little and costs nothing; and the Welsh can only blame themselves if their practical Saxon neighbours, who at least are recognizant of great men *after* death, and know how to consecrate marble to fame, should accuse them of selfishness or insincerity, and taunt them with the reproach that though Llywelyn may live upon their lips, he is dead in their heart.

The other subject, the erection of a building to be used as a museum and record office, and for the regular purposes of the Eisteddfod, was introduced by Mr. Whalley, of Plas Madoc, now Member for Peterborough, who generously offered to give for a site an eminence on his estate, or to purchase one more suitable in any other district. Mr. Whalley proposed that this building should be dedicated to Llywelyn, and he thus put the memorial project into its most practically useful form.

But after certain demonstrations of enthusiasm from one party, and of distaste from another, the question was again shelved, serving only to afford one more illustration of the jealousy with which the Welsh regard any beneficial interference from without; a jealousy which seems to increase in exact measure as their own power or inclination diminishes, to deal decisively with the national topics which from time to time are propounded.[5]

[5] The project of the Llywelyn memorial was, we believe, brought forward at the subsequent Eisteddfod at Aberdare, but with no better result. In 1861 some correspondence appeared in the *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald*, between, on the one side, a writer signing "Querist," who, with regard to the memorial, aspersed the character of Llywelyn, on the authority of a book called *The Last of the Plantagenets;* and on the other side, "Elvynydd," an Englishman, who defended it on the authority of credible history, tradition, state papers, and literary remains. Elvynydd concludes his first letter in these terms:—"And shall it be any longer said that no trophies have been raised to celebrate the fame of Llywelyn? Let the Welsh people, and especially the people of North Wales, answer like the thunder-echoes from their mountains. No! It is not enough that his memory be shrined in the hearts of his people, that they perpetuate his name, and dwell gratefully and proudly on his struggles and deeds of arms;

With all deficiencies and disappointments, however, the Llangollen Eisteddfod was a "great success;"—we do not mean in the sense chiefly indicated by that phrase, a money speculation, though we believe that the promoters incurred no loss—but rather a success in vindicating the spirit of nationality, in developing and encouraging the talents of the young men, and in directing the people to a neglected storehouse of high intellectual pleasure. As such it will be long remembered, and pardonably associated by imaginative minds with the great comet of Donati, which blazed night after night over the hills, having the star Arcturus involved in its vapoury trail. By nearly all who were present those four days must be marked with a white stone, for about them are grouped impressions linking the old centuries with our time, of character, ceremony, scenery, weather, and social intercourse, such as were delightful to experience and are pleasant to recall.

The reception accorded to the Eisteddfod by the English press was of the usual divided character, which is determined rather by the antagonism of one journal to another, than by any particular apprehension of the theme. The *Times*, when at length it tardily condescended to the subject,[6] professed to regard it with lordly

that they appreciate his very weakness and irresolution as displayed in the interest of peace and humanity; and that they triumph with him in his decision and strength, at the gates of Chester and the ford of Moel y Don. It is not enough even that the magnificent mountain which bears his name, and which was often his camp and dwelling, shall preserve that name while its crags soar to heaven, and its roots pierce beneath the ocean floor. More yet is due to the Lion of Wales. Let a worthy statue or other memorial be raised on the soil he defended and died for, and by the people who inherit his language and his blood! If this be done, the Eisteddfod of Aberdare may claim our lasting gratitude for at least one patriotic act; and when this is done, let all 'Querists' come and gaze on the marble, and see in it how the calumniators of a brave prince, the falsifiers of history, and the insulters of a nation which is not less loyal to Victoria than to Llywelyn, are best pitied for their ignorance, and best rewarded for their scorn!"

[6] The article appeared in the issue of October 23, 1858, and was ostensibly elicited by a letter signed "Tudor," (perhaps spurious,)

ridicule, and to dismiss it with mild contempt. But seeing that the facts recited as a basis for the article were half of them imaginary, and half of them distorted, little can be said for the reasoning, and nothing for the wit.

The effect of the Llangollen meeting upon Eisteddfodic progress was prompt and emphatic.

Stimulated by the unqualified success of Ab Ithel's great experiment, the other leaders of Cymric literature and song proceeded to organize and perpetuate the old Institution thus auspiciously revived. Denbigh, Conway, Aberdare and Caernarvon Eisteddfodau have been the result, together with a multitude of local ones; and at length a measure, much discussed and often postponed, has ripened into attainment, the establishment of Yr Eisteddfod on a permanent basis in Wales, subscribed to by a large and increasing list of adherents, and managed by an experienced and energetic staff.

But dear as was this object to Ab Ithel, the administration of the Eisteddfod by the Permanent Committee—as far as it has proceeded—would hardly have realised his conceptions or satisfied his desires.[7] The idea of the Eisteddfod pure and simple, a congress for the promotion and practice of the Welsh language, literature, oratory, art, music, and song, has been largely sophisticated by an admixture of subjects and pursuits foreign to its character, and inconsistent with its aims. It has been thought right to graft on it the functions of a Mechanics' Institute, or even of the British Association, and to dilute it unsparingly with English studies, English methods, and the English language. Such an Institution may mean well and work well, *but it is not an Eisteddfod.* We demur most heartily to the innovation. Eistedd-

published the same day, asking why the Editor had not noticed the "Grand Eisteddfod." Probably the *Times* had first decided to treat the affair with *silent* contempt; but as it had unquestionably an importance of its own, it was thought better to substitute *loquacious* contempt, and the inquiry of "Tudor" (three weeks having elapsed) was either invented or adopted as a convenient text.

[7] See Ab Ithel's Letter, page 130, *post.*

fodau are not schools for polyglotism and philosophy, or offices for industrial training. To divide the proceedings into "sections," and to read "papers," never occurred to the Cymmrodorion. To substitute English for Welsh to a larger extent than is plainly necessary in the conduct of the meeting, and in the language of the prize subjects, is only worthy of Welshmen who are ashamed of their name, their origin, and their mother-tongue. No reasonable person would hesitate to encourage the Welsh youth to attain as large a measure of English knowledge as their opportunities will allow, or to arm themselves with as complete an experience of the practical as their vocations require. But it is still to be shown that the Eisteddfod is the only possible place for such education, and that the perpetuation of the Eisteddfod in its genuine and legitimate character, will in any degree impede the moral or material advancement of the people; make them less clever, rich, happy, and loyal; less devoted to their families, less true to their faith.[7]

Ab Ithel's Eisteddfod of 1858 was, with one or two blemishes and drawbacks, a true and good model of an Eisteddfod for the people. It had few aristocratic supporters, and in no respect courted them. It provided in its prize scheme a sufficient range of *practical* subjects, and it gave ample scope to the national genius, and paid due respect to the national sentiment. Its faults are not difficult to avoid, its excellences not impossible to attain. As a splendid fulfilment of what it was designed to be, it must take rank with the best of its predecessors, and far above any that have followed it. Its good fruits are even now manifest, and its reputation will grow as it recedes into the past.

In speaking of the Eisteddfod we include the Gorsedd, which having no longer any political or judicial functions, but only the control of the Bardic Order, and the enunciation of the principles of progress and peace, may well be

[7] The multiplication of literary societies and middle-class schools is an improvement of the right kind in the right direction.

associated with the Eisteddfod in all worthy operations and aims.

We earnestly recommend the committee of Yr Eisteddfod to support wisely and heartily these ancient institutions; to endeavour by them to move and stimulate, as well as to instruct, the Welsh people; and while adding to them what may be needed in form and substance, according to the lights of the present day, to take from them nothing of the time-honoured character that has descended to us, through so many eventful centuries, from our foremost Princes and Bards.

"What sort of creatures are poets? Of all things make me one," said the boy Michael Drayton to his tutor three centuries ago. The master in after days remembered the saying, and disregarding the *non fit* principle, exulted in the fame of his pupil. No English poet has described Wales more poetically, or treated Welsh poesy and history more truthfully and lovingly. That he was present at one or more of the Elizabethan Eisteddfodau is almost certain, and in closing the subject of the Llangollen meeting, we may appositely quote from his *Polyolbion* a descriptive passage which, by the way, contains no reference to political economy or social science.

"'Mongst whom some bards there were, that in their sacred rage
Recorded the descents and acts of every age.
Some with their nimbler joints that struck the warbling string;
In fingering some unskilled, but only us'd to sing
Unto the others' harp: of which you both might find
Great plenty, and of both excelling in their kind,
That at the Stethva oft obtain'd a victor's praise,
Had won the silver harp, and worn Apollo's bays:
Whose verses they deduc'd from those first golden times,
Of sundry sorts of feet, and sundry suits of rhymes.
In Englins some there were, that on their subject strain;
Some makers that again affect the loftier vein,
Rehearse their high conceits in Cowiths; other some
In Owdells theirs express, as matter haps to come;
So varying still their moods, observing yet in all
Their quantities, their rests, their ceasures metrical;

For to that sacred skill they most themselves apply;
Addicted from their birth so much to poesy,
That in the mountains those who scarce have seen a book,
Most skilfully will make, as though from art they took."
—*Polyolbion*, Fourth Song.

Lastly, we may append the verses descriptive of Llangollen and the Gorsedd of 1858, by Elvynydd, who then received that name, and who has accurately reported what he witnessed and what he inferred.

I.

Llangollen! round whose loveliest brow fondly doth wizard Dee
Bind his last charms ere duller plains invite him to the sea;
Fair vestibule which Nature rears to Cymru's mountain shrine,
Which Light and Beauty penetrate with all their gifts divine;
Where Grandeur sits upon the rocks that saw the primal wave
Their bastion front like ocean fort with slow persistence lave;
Where wood and stream gain voice and soul by old tradition's might,
And arch and pillar, wall and tomb, own history's clearer light;
Where Peace broods over human homes, and Freedom fills the air,
And Health exults, and Piety outbreathes her purest prayer:
O valley ever dear to me, beneficent and sweet,
How oft I've wandered through thee with full heart and careless feet!—
Lingered with languid summer moons on Geraint's flowery crest—
Lain 'neath the kindling star of love on Craig-y-Vorwyn's breast—
Heard the storm-echoes sigh within Myfanwy's ruined hall,
And watched the sun's most golden rays on Llan Egwestl fall:—
And by the green-embosomed bank of the immortal stream,
Shaped many a lofty enterprize, nursed many a wayward dream;
And in thy hospitable homes which kindly spirits grace,
Have seen what Art could borrow from, and lend to Nature's face.
But never yet did majesty so well thy brow adorn,
So proudly o'er thee roll the Night, so jocund move the Morn;
But never yet so eloquent did wood and wave and hill
Assume a voice—so glad a heart thy sweet recesses fill,
As when the azure bardic flag played in the mountain wind,
As when the ancient music swelled to heaven unconfined,
As when from far-divided homes, the patriot Cymry came
On Cambria's fairest ground to bless and vindicate her name—
To rear in peace their Gorsedd-stone on basis firm and strong,
And in their great Eisteddfod to honour Art and Song!

II.

They come from Mona's *sunny*[8] Isle which rocks eternal guard,
Where lives the might of many a prince, the voice of many a bard;
They come from where the mountain-queen of gentle Clwyd's domain
Looks on grey tower, leafy dell, white cottage, golden grain;
From where the Eifl's crags enwrap, cold, desolate, and stern,
The vale that nursed the fiery snakes for traitor Vortigern;
Where Nevyn saw the pageant pass of Edward's blood-stained sway—
How scorns and triumphs over it our peaceful one to day!—
From where the Lake of Beauty lies, and Aran's summits blend
Their giant cones with Eve's gold shafts that in its breast descend;
Where yet round hoary Snowdon beats the quenchless heart of Wales—
And *shall*, till stedfast rock dissolves, till rushing river fails!
Where Vyrnwy sparkles 'mid the groves and meadows rich with kine,
And spreading uplands white with sheep and quiet homesteads shine;
Where Past and Present meet and mix in Cardiff's storied town;
Where fair Glyn Neath from Brecon's ridge her streams leads dancing down;
Where Towy glides through level meads and gardens of delight,
And Merddin's spirit animates wood, waterfall, and height;
Where Usk and Wye confirm to Gwent the beauty of her name,
And Learning holds his heritage and Royalty his fame;
Where Merthyr's fires and circling smoke deform the air yet give
A recompence in art and wealth, and peace by which they live;
Where round Saint David's stormy head the deep-voiced breakers pour,
And howl the sea-winds through the aisles where worship is no more:—
They come from hall and cot remote—from factory, mine and farm,
Linked by one common brotherhood, led by one sacred charm;
And e'en from England's airless towns where Trade has blocked the street,
For Patriotism keeps their heart though Fortune guides their feet;
They come with hope and purpose high, and voices tuned to glee,
To stand as stood their forefathers beside the holy Dee—

[8] No longer *Ynys Dywell*, the Dark Isle.

To rear in peace their Gorsedd-stone on basis firm and strong,
And in their great Eisteddfod to honour Art and Song!

III.

Now in the beaming face of day and in the eye of light,
Beneath the freedom of the sky, full in the country's sight,[9]
See on the level greensward the zodiac stones arise
That emblem out the sun's career, the circle of the skies!
For as the eternal heavens bend o'er human chance and change,
As Nature swerves not from her course through all creation's range,
As holiness and truth and peace immortally endure
Before God's throne, though clouds of earth their purity obscure;
So is the bardic circle raised, the bardic colours worn,
The ancient mother-tongue invoked, the ancient symbols borne,
The gauds of pleasure cast aside, the nets of habit burst,
The mind led up to principles that shall be last as first;
And one by one, while evil thoughts and passions disentwine,
The heart is warmed by human love, and blessed by love divine;
And spirit-filled is the temple great which time nor strength can bow,
Hallowed by faith and eloquence three thousand years ago.

Firm on the central Covenant-stone stands the presiding Bard;
The banners close around him there, and thronging votaries guard;
Before him in his azure robe the hateful sword is sheathed,
While peace within the hearts of all on the lips of all is breathed:
Fair to his noble forehead the gold tiara clings—
More fair in what it typifies than vainer crown of kings;
The mountain winds endearingly play o'er him and rejoice;
The river sends its softest tones to mingle with his voice;
He stands with calm eyes turned toward the ever-radiant East,
Proud as Christ's loyal minister, and Nature's bard and priest:—
So stood Taliesin for his prince, with shining brow, and sang
Of honour, fame, and chivalry, while the battle-music rang;
So Lucius stood—true saint and king—on many a British height,
Taught the pure faith, and perfected the triad rays of light!

Thus to the listening Gorsedd now the Hierophant declares
Of Cymru's Druid altars, of Cymru's Bardic Chairs;
Of them who first, in Heaven's name, the sacred circle drew;
Of ceaseless right and privilege—of ceaseless duty too;

[9] These expressions denote the conditions under which the Gorsedd must be held.

Of Faith that found in Britain's Isle, a safe abiding ark
When turned from her Creator's face, the Earth was lost and dark;
Of peace that filled the Bardic breast as Heaven's own hue serene;
Of growth in knowledge and in good, plain in the Ovate's green;
Of purity and holiness linked in the Druid white;
Of truth that trieth, crowneth all in the Omniscient sight—
Of truth that beams like a polar star o'er every age and clime,
Would man but clear his troubled eyes and view its light sublime!

Before the honour-giving Stone the glad expectants stand;
With reverent mien and earnest gaze they grasp the Bard's right hand;
The elder grave, the student mild, the maiden young and fair,
The Saxon, Celt, and Norman, join in love for Cambria there;
And solemnly and beautiful, in the calm mountain air,
Descends to Earth that blessing, ascends to Heaven that prayer—
God's light be ever before thine eyes! God's truth upon thy lips!
God's word within thy conscience![1] May silence or eclipse
Fall never on that utterance now burning in their heart,
When from the Gorsedd's ancient ring to the world they shall depart!
Illusions load the wings of Time, and feelings fade or sleep,
But may this hour's influence be durable as deep!
O Druid, Bard, and Ovate! know your duty and your joy;
Let virtue, peace, and worthy praise[2] your energies employ;
Shun sloth, contention, folly;[2] win a high but honest name,
For Honesty is sentinel at the brightest gate of Fame.
To human thought and human work go forth, and join the crowd;
But be your honour still unstained—your spirit still unbowed;
Though Custom wave her leaden wand—though Pleasure's lips entice,
Assert your free and manly name 'gainst slavery and vice:
Around you falsehood colours all—all gravitates to gold—
And Passion moves in varnished masks, and Life is bought and sold;
But clasp your bardic lamp of truth, your bardic faith retain;
Be pure and single-minded, be primitive and plain;
For few and narrow are the needs of Man's ignobler part,
But vast the field of Intellect, and deep the mine of Heart!
And oh! forget not Cambria now, her history, soil, and speech;
For *her* let Genius raise his song—for *her* let Wisdom teach;

[1] The formula addressed to the candidates for ordination in the Bardic degrees.

[2] As enjoined in the Triads of Bardic duties.

Let Beauty keep her heart for him whom *patriot* love first warms—
Devote the mother's watchful eye, the maiden's modest charms;
Let Eloquence pour winged words—Art doubly nerve his hand,
For her, for her, the old—the true—the beautiful—the grand:—
And she shall well repay the love by many a golden hour
Of health, of clear intelligence, of privilege and power—
Shall lead ye up from rushing time to the eternal dome,
Where Peace and Virtue, Faith and Truth sit in their primal home—
Shall cool life's fevered pulses with her fragrant mountain breath,
And stand Consoler, Hope, and Joy, beside the bed of death!

Ab Ithel enjoyed the society of a large family circle at Llangollen during the Eisteddfod. His wife, son, and daughters were with him; and his wife's sisters, the Misses Jane and Anne Williams, of Green Lodge,[3] had gathered around them an unusual array of relatives and friends; and they received every evening with a graceful and cordial hospitality the leading promoters and visitors of the festival.

The family returned to Llanymowddwy and resumed the tranquil life which had been thus unwontedly interrupted. Ab Ithel's health and spirits were raised by the journey and by the success of the experiment, and he entered with new hope and vigour upon his parochial and literary work. Few occurrences of interest have to be recorded in the remainder of 1858, or in 1859. In the latter year the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire enrolled him among its members, announcing the act in a very complimentary letter of the Secretary, Dr. Hume. He planned at this time a new patriotic society, whose leading objects were the perpetuation and extension of the Welsh language, together with the obtainment of the electoral franchise. An organisation like that of the Conservative Land Society was to be adopted, and the members, while raising themselves to the advantageous position that has been attained in English districts by similar means, were to compose a fraternity bound to teach the Welsh language to their household, to secure

[3] Now of the Woodlands, Llangollen.

Welsh services in their parish churches, and to introduce Welsh into their schools as the essential basis of education.

This project was never matured, nor indeed would such a combination seem practicable; but it is to be regretted that some Association is not formed for the distinct and exclusive purpose of realising these aims, and of representing permanently the interests of the Cymraeg before the Government and before the people. Whatever secular causes may tend to the extinction of that venerable tongue, at least we may be spared the acceleration which official hostility and popular apathy can affect. It should be the endeavour of the peasantry, the clergy, the men of business, and the men of letters in Wales, to unite in, or support a society so enlightened, so temperate, so active, and so strong, as to be able to multiply Welsh books, to teach Welsh grammar, to deliver Welsh lectures, to promote the free colloquial use of Welsh, and to obtain the removal or mitigation of the disabilities which exclude it from too many churches and schools, and from all courts of justice.[4] The sympathies of good scholars and patriots everywhere would strengthen such an Association; for who could look with complacency on the death of the Celtic idiom, and on the surely consequent death of the Celtic character and name?[5]

[4] The functions of such a society would be properly and perfectly distinct from those of the Eisteddfod Committee. There should be combination between them in spirit and purpose, but separation in management and transactions.

[5] "The death of a language, which is nothing less than the quenching the free life of a race of mankind, is a great, and one can feel, a sad event. We, the English or Anglo-Saxon race are now, as the Celtic race have been, mighty on the earth; and who would think that the off-dying or out-quenching for ever of our race and speech from the world, would be other than a sad event; and an event great in proportion to the work which we may have wrought among men. Let us fancy that English has been displaced in these islands by the tongue of an on-coming race; and that even the English empires in Australia and New Zealand, have risen and outspent their life of thousands of years; and that the only speakers of English are at last an old man and his wife, who cherish the tongue of their forefathers, while all their younger neighbours speak the language of the dominant

The problem to be worked out is, in fact, how to maintain the Welsh without restricting the English; how to acquire a language most necessary for the cultivation of the mind, and for the business of life, without giving up the mother-tongue endeared by the affections of home, and sanctified by the services of the altar? We believe that a solution is possible. At least let it be attempted. *Non tam turpe vinci quam contendisse decorum!*[6]

In the years 1860 and 1861 there arose in the Journals of the Principality another controversy on the chronic subject of the maintenance of the Welsh language and institutions, but with particular reference to the proposed reform of the Eisteddfod. Views more or less similar to those which we have advocated and reprobated were put forth with considerable ability by the disputants on either side. Ab Ithel was of course much quoted and freely handled in the discussion, but he took no part in it until provoked by some editorial remarks in the *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald*, when he published in that journal the following letter, which ably vindicates his conduct and career, and defines his opinions and intentions with regard to Eisteddfod reform:—

"EISTEDDFOD REFORM.

"SIR,—In your leader on this subject, which appeared on Saturday last, you are pleased to say:—'Let us not be thought to advocate the stand-still policy of such men as Ab Ithel, with

race. The wife dies, and the old man himself at length breathes his last prayer in the words, 'Lord have mercy upon me,' and with those words English dies for ever on the lips of her last son. So died Cornish on the lips of Dolly Pentraeth; and so, in the run of years, will the Manx language cease; and so, in time, may Welsh breathe its last in the lovely valleys of Cymru."—Barnes' *Notes on Ancient Britain*, p. 114.

[6] "Such is the actual state of that population and that language for which the bards of the sixth century daringly predicted eternity of duration; their prediction, however, will not, at all events, be falsified in our days. The Cambrian idiom is still spoken by a sufficiently extensive population to render its future extinction very difficult to foresee. It has survived all the other dialects of the ancient British language."—Augustin Thierry, *History of the Norman Conquest*, Hazlitt's Transl., vol. ii. p. 296.

respect to the Eisteddfod. Those creatures who cannot progress with Time should pass out of Time.' I am not on the present occasion about to dispute your policy, whatever it may be—'rhydd i bob dyn ei farn,'—but I should very much like to know why you have singled me out in particular as an enemy to progress. Those who know me well will, I think, allow that I have done something, perhaps as much as most of my countrymen now living, for the advancement of the religious, moral, and intellectual welfare of the Principality; I have built churches and schools; I have assisted in the formation of one society, which is acknowledged to have thrown much light upon the history and customs of our country; I have established another, the express object of which is the promotion of the arts and sciences, as well as the general literature of Wales; I have written, translated, and otherwise edited books, some of which are referred to as authorities even by continental scholars; I have started magazines for the purpose of receiving the contributions of talented young men, but who could not otherwise have given them publicity; and even in this way I have in some degree encouraged native genius—drawn out and humoured the spirit of the age. But you allude more especially to the Eisteddfod. Be it so. The programme of the Eisteddfod, with which I had to do three years ago, exhibited subjects of a more varied character than any I have seen before or since; whilst the several competitors were encouraged to try them by the offer of prizes amounting in value to between £400 and £500. There were prose composition, poetry, music, vocal and instrumental in its various branches, the manufacture of hats, weaving of various sorts, oratory, heraldry, painting, mapping, carpentry, bravery in war, bravery in saving life, industry, recitation, reading, writing, and—hear it, ye advocates of progress!—the regulation of the Welsh fashions! And I have done all this whilst others were 'standing still,' and calling out 'progress, progress!' I do not say it in a spirit of boasting, God forbid, for at the best we are but unprofitable servants. I merely adduce facts in refutation of the charge that would represent me as having done nothing—more especially at the call of modern requirements.

"I hardly know whether to take the opinion or wish you have expressed (in no very courteous terms) respecting my speedy translation from this world of matter, as a compliment or not. 'Those creatures who cannot progress with Time should pass out of Time.' But this I know, that Time takes no cognizance of principles—they are unchangeable, eternal. It is the removal of these principles, constituting as they do the basis, the very

essence of the Eisteddfod, that I deprecate. Herein therefore you have unwittingly enunciated a particle of truth. When it was proposed to reform the Eisteddfod I rejoiced, but I must confess, not without fear, lest men who were but imperfectly acquainted with the history and usages of bardism, should apply the axe to the root, rather than to some worthless branches. That I was not opposed to the proposal is evident from the fact that I allowed my name to be on the general committee. The rules adopted at Aberdare, however, being fundamentally subversive of the ancient institution, forbid me to endorse *such* a reform —which indeed is no reform, but a creation. Here is a new society proposed, with an old name; strip it of that venerable name, which does not legitimately belong to it, and you shall have my humble support to give effect to this new manifestation of progress. Meanwhile we, myself and others who feel with me, will endeavour to render the old Eisteddfod as efficient, and as suitable to the wants of the age, as possible, without endangering its fundamental constitution.

"AB ITHEL."

Ab Ithel published in the *Cambrian Journal*, vols. 1860 and 1861, some papers on "Druidism," presenting, as far as they extend, an interesting summary derived from the original documents which are collected in *Barddas*. The chapters bear respectively the following titles:—Patriarchal Times; the Gwyddoniaid; Bardic Reform under Prydain; from Prydain to Dyvnwal Moelmud; Dyvnwal Moelmud; from Dyvnwal Moelmud to the Christian Era; the Christian Epoch; the Roman Period; from the Sixth to the Seventeenth Century; Doctrine—1. God—2. The Creation—3. The Fall, the Angels, the Restoration of Man—4. The Circles—5. The Devil, Death, the Soul—6. Sacrifice.

In the volumes of the *Cambrian Journal* from 1855 to 1857 there are also several valuable essays by Ab Ithel on Druidism, particularly one in 1856, "Druidism typical of Christianity," in which he handles this curious and difficult subject with equal learning and devotion.

Among the popular customs which Ab Ithel encouraged as favourable alike to piety and to patriotism, the *Plygain* well deserves mention. The word, little

euphonious, doubtless, to Saxon ears, for no gentle onomatopœia is in it, means *early dawn*,[8] and is applied to the special service of Christmas-eve or Christmas morning, held in many churches and chapels in Wales, and which is peculiarly grateful to the Celtic character. A religious service on this vigil is indeed common to nearly all Christian countries, and carol-singing, which always forms the essential portion of the Welsh observance, is universal in some form throughout the Christian world. But it is only in the Principality where religious feeling acquires an intense development, and where the love of vocal song is ineradicable, that the celebration of the Nativity exhibits the characteristics of the Plygain. We have been present at these meetings in different towns and villages, but nowhere have we seen the typical Plygain so fully marked as at Llanymowddwy.

Let us snatch from the receding years some memories of Christmas tide in that quiet valley, while as yet the Genius of the place was present in Ab Ithel, and no railway works abraded the meads of the lower Dovey, or polluted the borders of the free lake of Bala.

Night has long gathered over the Pass of the Cross. The church bell of Llanuwchllyn feebly ringing welcome for the great Advent has died away below. The last light has faded from the lonely farm-house of Blaen Cwm. We rise into the spiritual darkness of the hills. Broad tracts of table land, broken by shelving ridges and abrupt peaks, stretch around us in distances not measured by the eye, but felt by the mountain instinct. The pure frost wind flows steadily without pause or gust from over the double crest of Arenig, and the remote crags of Snowdon, on across the Berwyns and many a Montgomeryshire *moel*, down to the pasture levels of Tanat, Vyrnwy and Severn. Great belts of cloud swathe the moonless sky, and oppress the stars, save when a chasm of intensest azure cuts their black edges, and some separate star hangs tremblingly in it.

[8] *Ply-cain.* Owen Pughe. (The *y* has the sound of the English *u*.)

As we climb the difficult path under the dripping rock-wall on the left hand, and above the deep *cwm* to the right; or stride freely across the open ground on the shoulder; or wind down the dark recesses of the Bwlch into the Mowddwy Vale; there rises in the bosom that rare and joyous sense, physical in part, intellectual in greater part, revealed not amid the haunts and employments of men; the sense of unfettered movement and self-reliance, all vacant of fear, unconscious of fatigue, keenly alive to the subtle manifestations of nature, and eager to meet the shadowy fancies and far-reaching meditations that then come forth, cleared of the dull passages of frivolity and care which are too thickly over-written on the palimpsest of life. And when the site of the vanished Cross gleams on the summit of the Pass, a frozen area of peat-ground, the heart swells with holier emotion, and the religion of Him who was tempted in the wilderness, and transfigured on the mountain, sheds a better blessing on the hour and on the scene. For surely no fitter time than the eve of His Nativity, and no fitter spot than one into such as which He was wont to go up to pray, could be chosen wherein to express our thankfulness for the Divine Incarnation that has taught the dust of Adam to contemplate its immortality; or wherein to utter our trustful prayer for the coming and crowning perfection of the human race! And under the shadow of the Arans, and around the desert springs of Dyfi, may not the Omnipresent receive that true praise and prayer equally as within gorgeous cathedrals and amid choral crowds; for in the beautiful words of Gray:[9]—

> "Præsentiorem et conspicimus Deum,
> Per invias rupes, fera per juga,
> Clivosque præruptos, sonantes
> Inter aquas, nemorumque noctem;
> Quàm si repostus sub trabe citreâ
> Fulgeret auro, et Phidiacâ manu."

Here, however, is no churchless wild, and the moun-

[9] Ode written in the album of the Monastery of the Grande Chartreuse.

taineers are not left to the teachings of natural religion, influential though these be upon their simple lives; and now as we skirt the grounds of the silent Bryn-mansion of ghostly reputation—and cross the Pumrhyd where gliding down under thick foliage from Tydecho's Chair it cuts the road in the bottom; the little bell of the unseen church fills the clear air, and we overtake a mixed company of peasants hastening to the holy tryst.

Some have crossed the Bwlch from Llanuwchllyn, some the Dovey from the hill farms on the east side. All are gay and hilarious but without any boisterous merriment, nor is there the slightest sign of intemperance. We follow them into the rectory, where before Ab Ithel's hospitable fires they shake off the midnight cold, and mingle with the large company gathered there. To many, Ab Ithel is pastor and friend, and to all, the good Welsh patriot and preacher whom it is well worth a long and cold night-journey to see and to hear.

And now all are bidden into the church, which is hardly distinguished by its dim lights through the black arms of the great secular yews. It is a small undecorated place, yet large in the ungrudging devotion of its people, and rich in the virtues and talents of its minister.

Candles glimmer in the windows and along the seats; wreaths of evergreens mark the season, and the taste of the ladies of the rectory. As much warmth as could be attained in such a place, at such a time, has been given to the interior. But light and warmth and ornament are in the audience, not the edifice. The people supply all that is deficient, and ennoble all that is mean. The church is filled, for nearly all the parishioners are there, and many belonging to other districts have wended their various way from mountain villages and scattered farms to hear the Bishop of Mowddwy,[1] and to sing their Christmas song. There are old, very old men and women present, for as Churchyard long ago sang, and as the Registrar-General certifies, the peasantry of Merioneth enjoy great longevity,

[1] As Ab Ithel was familiarly styled.

the obvious result of very pure air and temperate habits. The dames, who perhaps excel in this respect, wear the linsey woolsey, the hose, and the coarse flannels of their country, together with the ample frilled cap carefully whitened for the occasion, and crowned by the imposing beaver, (the *bête noire* of modern masculine costume, and certainly not less unbecoming to the gentler sex,) or by the simpler round felt hat which is more generally used in North Wales. The old men—and indeed all the men—are clad in a garb without any character save roughness and plainness for the hard uses of life. The young Cymry are tall and well moulded, though having the air of reserve or diffidence which is associated with mountain training, and which often covers high mental capacity, while the obtrusive assurance of the townsman as often displays the want of it. Of young girls there is an ample attendance, and the beauty of the "Morwynion glan Meirionydd" is indicated by many a rounded form, dark Silurian eye, clear cut features, and glowing cheek. Nor should the crowding, joyous, carol-burdened, weather-careless children be disregarded, the *plant* and *plantach* of the parish,[2] whether *llodesi* or *bechgyn*, to whom Christmas is a delight, and church-going not a weariness, who grow up under the shadow of their hills, and in the practice of the religious customs of their country, credulous, it may be, simple-minded, and unskilled in the ephemeral babble of the "certified" schools, but with unloosened hold on a true faith from which modern youth is drifting, and with a clear conviction of first principles which sordid habits shall not overlay, nor shallow sophistries darken.[3]

But Ab Ithel takes his surplice from beside the reading-

[2] Vernacular for the olive-branches of Cymru.

[3] Ab Ithel, always fond of children, loved them particularly at this season. "I well remember," writes Miss Williams, "how early he used to be up on a New-year's morning, to go to get all his loose silver changed, in order to give the little children pence when they came for their *Clenig* or New-year's gift. I see him now standing at the gate surrounded by eager little faces, himself as delighted as any one of them."

desk—the church has no vestry—and the service begins. He reads in a low earnest tone, and the Liturgy loses nothing in its Welsh setting. The congregation join with fervour in the responses, led by an ancient grey-haired clerk, who most carefully and emphatically marks the time and the sense. There is a mournful character, almost a monotony, in the Welsh responses, especially in the Litany, that seems very appropriate to the confessions of sinners, and in general, there is no better language for rendering the utterances of religion with clearness, solemnity, and strength. Religion, indeed, has done much for the Welsh language, and the Welsh language has done much for religion.[4] In this poor primitive church of course no organ is found, but the musical service is well conducted by Miss Williams, on a small harmonium belonging to the family. The grand old Gregorian chants and the immemorial hymns of Cambria, rise eloquently from this humble instrument, bearing with them all voices and all hearts in that unsophisticated assembly.

After prayer and praise follows the sermon, a plain

[4] In the matter of *cursing*, however, Welsh must yield the palm to English, as the following passage from Borrow's *Wild Wales* helps to prove:—"Near the top of a gentle acclivity, a boy with a team, whom I had passed a little while before, came up. He was whipping his horses, who were straining up the ascent, and was swearing at them most frightfully in English. I addressed him in that language, inquiring the name of the crag, but he answered Dim Saesneg, and then fell to cursing his horses in English. I allowed him and his team to get to the top of the ascent, and then overtaking him, I said in Welsh, 'What do you mean by saying you have no English? you were talking English just now to your horses.' 'Yes,' said the lad, 'I have English enough for my horses, and that is all.' 'You seem to have plenty of Welsh,' said I; 'why don't you speak Welsh to your horses?" 'It's of no use speaking Welsh to them,' said the boy; 'Welsh isn't strong enough.' 'Isn't Myn Diawl tolerably strong?' said I. 'Not strong enough for horses,' said the boy; 'if I were to say Myn Diawl to my horses, or even Cas Andras, they would laugh at me.' 'Do the other carters,' said I, 'use the same English to their horses which you do to yours?' 'Yes,' said the boy; 'they all use the same English words; if they didn't, the horses wouldn't mind them.'"

setting forth of the blessings of Redemption, a loving exhortation to seize the great opportunity of life which grows more fleeting with each revolving year. And now the benediction is pronounced, and there is a stir among the people, not of departure but of preparation and expectancy. The carol-singing is to begin. And first Ab Ithel, divested of his gown, standing before the congregation, and his two daughters with him, lead off with a carol, doubly their own in music and in words. This short and simple song over, the old clerk advances, and with him two other singers, a ruddy stripling of twenty, and a weather-bronzed farmer of middle age. They group themselves before the altar-steps. The old man, the central figure, bears in one hand a candle and in the other the manuscript carol. The three bend over the paper. Though the voices are unequal and the tune monotonous, a reality and intensity of purpose stamps the performance with no common interest. Their carol is a long one of old verses connected and completed by original additions. It tells of the Divine Dispensation on earth, from the Fall of Adam to the Resurrection of the Messiah. It dwells on the persons, places and events of Gospel history. It is briefly the universal carol recast into a Cymric mould. As it proceeds, the singers do not modulate their tone or alter their emphasis. The strain rises and closes throughout stanza after stanza in what seems an interminable equal flow. There is no attempt at effect or self-exhibition. It is a duty and a delight, not a task or an entertainment. The three stand quiet and patient, the flickering light playing across their faces, and chant to the end the high burden of their song. At length it ceases with a long-drawn *Amen.* They glide into their places; but immediately another singer starts up, and bursts into vigorous carol, taking a more joyous note than that of his predecessors, but with as little variety of expression or air. While he sings, there is an anxious unfolding of papers and shifting of positions among the audience, and when he subsides satisfied, there is a springing forward of two groups

simultaneously, of which one is selected, that of a boy and a girl, and their timid and sweet voices clothe the recurring carol with an interest that checks the longing for the end, inspired sometimes by the male performances. And now there is again a pause, and again a vocalist rises with book or manuscript, or with only an exuberant memory; and again, and again, until at last the carol culminates in the votive offering of two stalwart mountaineers, who pursue it in mutual excitement through a maze of amplifications, heedless of passing hours and sleepless eyes. The winds rising in their strength sweep moaning round the church, laden with the funereal breath of the yews. Cold December darkness is outside, the feeble gleam of a few candles within. Heavy shadows flit along the walls and over the faces of the people. The chill of the early morning creeps through your frame, and a weird restless feeling weighs upon your soul.

But finally the tones fall away from your dreamy ear. The programme is ended. Ab Ithel dismisses the assembly. Then follow greetings and gratulations. All press around their pastor, and with many a *Nos da!* and hearty grasp of the hand, the people separate. The rector and his family go to rest, as do most of his parishioners, but a strong band of all ages, with bosoms yet glowing with Christmas fervour, and with feet that spurn fatigue, march towards Mallwyd Church, five miles distant, where *another* Plygain awaits them—a service, a sermon, and a carol-singing, as earnest, as consentaneous, and as long.

All this is doubtless very simple, and may be deemed very uninteresting to witness, or very unnecessary to describe. But if the philosophic mind do not find in it some gratifying transcript of national character, something that indicates qualities honourable to humanity, and tastes which no wise social economy could advantageously discourage, then it would be vain to seek better examples among the Cambrian hills and valleys. And whatever may be the state of this country when the wave

of Anglo-Saxon assimilation shall have rolled over its boundaries, it is at least doubtful whether any of the new customs can compensate the blotting out of the old; and whether the new "progress" of the people can bring them nearer to that substantial happiness which is neither a slave prostrate at the feet of Fashion, nor an infant pursuing the chariot-wheels of Time.

PRINCE ARTHUR'S VISIT TO CAERLLEON-AR-WYSG.

Caerlleon-ar-Wysg, which was famed in ancient times as the second city in Britain, attained its highest renown when the immortal King Arthur made it his principal place of residence. During the brief intervals of repose from his numerous warlike engagements, it was in this city that illustrious British hero kept his court. Here, on being elected king of all Britain, he received the crown from the hand of Dubritius, Bishop of Llandaff. Here he instituted the order of the "Round Table;" but the ancient magnificence of the place has long since disappeared. The traveller now looks in vain for the

> "Palaces and towers,
> Where once beneath a monarch's feet,
> Sat legislation's sovereign powers."

It is true that many vestiges of its former greatness have been from time to time discovered. These objects of interest to the archæologist are preserved in the museum, which has been opened by the local archæological society. But the place is no longer the seat of royalty, nor of an archbishop. However, in the month of July last, after an interval of upwards of thirteen centuries, it was favoured with a visit from another Prince Arthur, lineally descended from the same family as that of the ancient warrior of that name in the sixth century. His Royal Highness, who is described as a slenderly-built, pale, blue-eyed, gentlemanly youth, was accompanied by his

tutor and Major Elphinston. All the objects of antiquarian and historic interest in the place were inspected by the Prince. These included King Arthur's Round Table in the Priory Field, the remains of the amphitheatre, and the various antiquarian curiosities in the museum.

The glowing incidents of ancient British history, in connection with Caerlleon-ar-Wysg, have been brought lately into fresh prominence by the Poet Laureate, in his great work, *The Idylls of the King*, the scenes in which are necessarily associated with this once renowned city. That it was a most important station in the time of the ancient British rule, as well as during the Roman ascendancy in Britain, is plainly indicated by the numerous remains which have been found in the neighbourhood. And Giraldus Cambrensis speaks of its gorgeous monuments and splendid architecture, which existed in his time. These associations, no doubt, induced the young Prince to make his visit to it in his tour into South Wales, being at the time on his way to Cardiff, having previously been to Ross, Ragland, and Chepstow, during which his Royal Highness stayed at Frog House, the residence of the Duke of Beaufort.

F. S. G.

CORRESPONDENCE.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—ANCIENT IRISH HISTORIES.

To the Editor of the Cambrian Journal.

Sir,—In case no other correspondent should furnish you with an analysis of the Histories of Ireland, published by Sir James Ware, in 1633, (see *Cambrian Journal*, 1862, p. 264,) I send you the following particulars, which may contain the information which you require.

Among the works said to have been written by Edmund Campion, and published under his name, the following is included in the list given in Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*, under "Edm. Camp."—

"The History of Ireland, in Two Books, Written 1570. The MS.

or original of which being in the Cottonian Library, was afterwards published by Sir James Ware of Dublin, Knight. Dublin, 1633, fol."

In the same work, under "Mer. Han.," it is stated that among other books Hanmer wrote—

"The Chronicle of Ireland, in Two Parts: the second of which was published at Dublin in 1633, fol."

In Allibone's *Crit. Dict. of English Literature*, under "Edm. Camp.," the work is designated,—

"The History of Ireland, pub. by Sir James Ware. Dublin, 1633, fol.;" but under "Mer. Hanmer," in the same work, it is described as—

"Chronicle of Ireland, by M. Hanmer, Edm. Campion, and Edm. Spenser. Pub. by Sir James Ware. Dublin, 1633, fol."

The author of the *Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen*, under "Mer. Han.," states that Hanmer translated, besides two other works, *The Chronicle of Ireland in Two Parts*, and he adds that "the third part of it was published in 1633. Dublin, folio."

In Bohn's edition of Lowndes' *Bibliographer's Manual*, the title of the work is given as follows—

"Hanmer, Meredith, D.D. the Historie of Ireland. By Meredith Hanmer, D.D., Edmund Campion, Marleburough, and Edmund Spenser. Published by Sir J. Ware, Knight. Dublin, 1633, fol."

None of the foregoing titles furnish an exact transcript of the original, which a reference to the work itself will at once evince. For the history published by Sir James Ware, in 1633, in one volume, is intituled,—

"A View of the State of Ireland, written dialogue-wise between Eudoxus and Irenæus by Edmund Spenser." And afterwards in the same year there appeared in another volume—"Two Histories of Ireland: the one written by Edmund Campion, the other by Meredith Hanmer." To Hanmer's *History* is prefixed the heading—"The Chronicle of Ireland: collected by Meredith Hanmer, Doctor of Divinity: the *second Part*."

In his preface to the *Chronicle*, Sir James Ware states that "Doctor Hanmer died of the Plague at Dublin in 1604, before he had finished his intended work," and in the *Writers of Ireland* he affirms that Daniel Molyneux, who is mentioned by Bishop Hanmer in his letter addressed to Archbishop Usher in 1627, in connection with the proposed publication of the *Chronicle* and *History of Ireland*, as having merited the gratitude of "the whole realm of Ireland, together with that of Great Britain," finished Meredith Hanmer's *Chronicle of Ireland*, and "fitted it for the Press: but that he did not know how it happened, the *second Part* of it only was afterwards printed."

In Lowndes' *Manual* the following *collation* is added—"General Title,—Dedication to Lord Deputy Wentworth, one leaf. Preface to the Histories, one leaf. Dedication to Robert Dudley, Baron of Denbigh, and to the Loving Reader, three leaves—in all six leaves.

Campion, pp. 1 to 138, with Faults Escaped, one leaf. *Hanmer, including Marleburough*, pp. 1 to 223. Spenser, Dedication to Lord Deputy Wentworth, one leaf. Preface, two leaves, pp. 1 to 127. Verses out of Spencer's *Fairy Queen* concerning the Rivers of Ireland. Four leaves inserted."

In the year 1809, a new edition of the *Ancient Irish Histories*, in two handsome royal octavo volumes, was issued at Dublin, by the Hibernia Press Company, the general title of which is,—

"The Works of Spencer, Campion, Hanmer, and Marleburrough. Vol. I. Containing Spencer's View of the State of Ireland, and Campion's Historie of Ireland. Vol. II. Containing Doctor Meredith Hanmer's and Henry Marleburrough's Chronicles of Ireland."

Vol. I. contains the "Names of Subscribers to the Ancient Irish Histories of Spencer, Campion, Hanmer, and Marleburrough. Reprinted at the Hibernia Press, Dublin, 1809," pp. 1 to 22. Dedication "to the Right Honourable and Honourable the President, Vice-Presidents and Members of the Dublin Society by the Editors," with Vignette, one leaf. To the "Dublin Society," by the Hibernia Press Company, one leaf. The title of Spencer's "View," &c., one leaf. Sir James Ware's Epistle Dedicatory, one leaf. The Preface, two leaves. "A View of the State," &c., pp. 1 to 266. Title of Campion's "Historie," &c., one leaf. Sir James Ware's Epistle Dedicatory to Deputy Wentworth, one leaf. Preface to the subsequent Histories, two leaves. Campion's Epistle Dedicatory to Robert Dudley, two leaves. To the Loving Reader, two leaves. Campion's Historie, in two books, pp. 1 to 204, with one leaf of Errata in the original text of Campion.

Vol. II. contains, besides the general title of the work, the title of Hanmer's Chronicle, &c., one leaf. The Chronicle—the second part, pp. 1 to 410. On the last page is appended the following paragraph, —"Thus farre the Collections of Doctor Hanmer, the continuation following is taken out of the Chronicles of Henry Marleburrough." Title—"The Chronicle of Ireland. By Henry Marleburrough; continued from the collection of Doctor Meredith Hanmer in the Yeare 1571," one leaf. The Chronicle, pp. 1 to 32, and Directions to the Binder at the end, one leaf.

It is only necessary to add that, by a comparison of the foregoing extracts with the original volumes, it will be seen that the title of the work given in Allibone's *Dictionary*, under Meredith Hanmer, is incorrect, and also that the statement in Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*, that "the *third* part of it was published in 1633," is erroneous.

What became of the *first* part of Dr. Hanmer's *Chronicle*, unless by it be intended Campion's *History*, I have no means of ascertaining, as there is no allusion made to it in the published volumes.

Hoping that the analysis of the contents which I have herein given will prove satisfactory, I remain, &c.,

GLAN.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

LLYFR-DU CAERFYRDDIN, OR THE BLACK BOOK OF CAERMARTHEN.—This famous MS., which was formerly preserved in the Priory of that town, now forms a part of the well-known Hengwrt collection, which, by the will of the late Sir Rob. W. Vaughan, Bart., has become the property of Mr. Wynne of Peniarth. How it came to the Hengwrt Library cannot now be positively ascertained. After the dissolution of the Priory it seems to have passed along with some other rare MSS. into the hands of the Treasurer of St. David's Cathedral, from whence it subsequently came into the possession of Sir John Pryse, the antiquary. It is said to be in the hand-writing of the twelfth century, and contains a collection of Welsh poetry, some of which are contemporary odes addressed to the ancient Princes of Wales. Mr. Wynne is of opinion that a considerable portion of the MS. is in the autograph of the celebrated Welsh Bard Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr. This precious volume is about to be published under the editorship of Mr. W. F. Skene, in the ancient and modern Welsh, accompanied with *fac-similes* of some of the original pages, and with an English translation, in which the editor is assisted by the first Celtic scholar of the day, the learned author of the *Cornish Lexicon*. The contents of the volume, which consists of fifty-four leaves of parchment, are given by the late Mr. Aneurin Owen in his Catalogue of the Hengwrt MSS. See the *Cambrian Journal* for 1859, pp. 277–8.

A DRUIDICAL SIGN OF THE TRINITY.—In the construction of the Druidical Cromlech the idea of the *three* in *one* is evidently observed. /|\ denotes three. The top stone set thereon $\overline{/|\backslash}$ denotes the *Trinity* in *Unity;* the supporters being representatives of the Persons, and the stone covering them their Unity. The idea of Plato that the Deity was a triangle, or like a triangle, bears affinity to this sign of the Trinity among the ancient Druids of Britain; for if the three strokes be put in a somewhat different position from that of the supporters in the Druidical Cromlech, the same conception is precisely exemplified. For instance, if the middle stroke, instead of being placed in a perpendicular line, be put in a horizontal position between the other two, the figure of a triangle will be formed, and the three in one will then be produced without a top line. It is possible therefore that the philosopher had derived his idea of the Trinity from the ancient Druids. It may also be added that the letter A having been considered an expression for the Name of Jehovah Aleim, the shape of the letter will introduce the same idea, it being made up of three strokes, and the middle one being lowered a little would form a triangle.—J. EVANS, *Crickhowell.*

THE

CAMBRIAN JOURNAL.

ALBAN ELVED.

(AUTUMNAL EQUINOX.)

LETTERS RELATING TO THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION IN WALES.

[From MSS. in the British Museum.]

I.

LETTER

OF WILLIAM BARLOW[1] TO SECRETARY CROMWELL.

Pleaseth your good Mastership with compassion to advertise the complaint and unfeigned petition of your

[1] William Barlow, the writer of this letter, was not a Welshman, but a native of Essex. He was Prior of Haverfordwest, where, in a meadow on the banks of the Cleddau, a Priory of Black Canons had been founded by the Norman settler, Robert de Hwlfordd, the son of Richard Fitz-Tancred, castellan to Gilbert de Clare, first Earl of Pembroke. A portion of the ruins of the priory is still conspicuous near the river. In the latter part of 1535 Barlow, who had previously removed from Haverfordwest to Bisham, in Berkshire, was raised to the bishopric of St. Asaph, from which, in a short time, he was translated to the see of St. David's, which he held for thirteen years. For an account of his infamous conduct in damaging the episcopal palace at St. David's, and in plundering the diocese to apportion his five daughters to five prelates, see Browne Willis's *Survey of the Cathedral Church of St. David's*, pp. 49, 120.—G.

humble orator, disquietly vexed without cause or any pretensed occasion motioned of your said orator's party. Whereas the Queen of her gracious bounty advouched me unworthy the priorship of Haverfordwest under her grace's foundation, since the time of my there continual residence, considering the hungry famine of hearing the word of God, and desolate scarcity of true preachers, I have endeavoured myself with no small bodily danger against Antichrist, and all his confederate adherents, sincerely to preach the gospel of Christ, whose verity as it is invincible so is it incessantly assaulted of faithless false perverters; by reason whereof they which of duty ought to fortify me in maintaining the truth, maliciously have conceived a malevolent mind causeless to malign against me, in such wise that I was forced from their tyranny to appeal unto the King's honorable council, as plainly appeareth by the untrue surmised articles falsely contrived by the black friar of Haverfordwest, which though I presented to your Mastership as that of his only doing, yet was it the maintenance of the bishop[2] and his unghostly spiritual officers, which is evident by the reward of the bishop to the friar[3] at his departing, also by his letters directed to Mr. Dean of the Arches and to Dr. Hughes diligently to solicit that I might be suppressed in my just matter. And where they since perceive that (praise be to God!) under the favour of your righteous equity they cannot prevail against me as they wilfully would, yet cease they not wrongfully to vex such as pertain to me, troubling them with tyranny for my sake, no such cruelty deserving; as where of late I sent a servant home about certain business, immediately after his coming the bishop's officers ascited him to appearance, and ransacking his house forced him to deliver such books as he had, that is to say an English

[2] This was Richard Rawlins, the immediate predecessor of William Barlow in the see.—G.

[3] There was a house of Black Friars within the town, the site of which is said to have been in Bridge Street, where the *Black Horse Inn* was subsequently erected.—G.

Testament, the Exposition of the IV^th^, V^th^ and VI^th^ chapters of Matthew, the Ten Commandments, and the Epistle of St. John, violently with-holding them with vehement reproaches and clamorous exclamations against heretics, as if to have the Testament in English were horrible heresy, to no little dismaying and fearful discomfort of the sincere favourers of God's word. Moreover, they charged in the King's name the Mayor of Tenby, in pain of five hundred marks, to put in ward the said poor man, his wife, and a certain honest widow of inculpable fame, with whom they were at enmity[4] laying certain articles to their charge which they never thought nor spake; and after most shameful rumours raised up to their defamation, with slanderous wonderment of the town, all crafty means assayed to bring in false witness, when no accuser would appear openly, as a true certificate under the town's seal largely doth testify, the above mentioned officers, without any charitable satisfaction to the said parties wrongfully imprisoned, bade the mayor do with them as he lusted, and so thence departing made their advaunt in places where they came, of their valiant acts against heretics, meaning thereby the favourers of Christ's gospel. In consideration whereof it may please your singular goodness to provide a redress, that from the terror of such tyrannies the King's faithful subjects your poor orators may peaceably live according to God's laws, without any such unchristian impeachment and cumbrous vexations. Furthermore, unfeignedly to ascertain your Mastership, in what piteous case greatly lamentable the King's faithful subjects the poor residents[5] in the diocese of St. David your suppliant orators are miserably ordered under the clergy, requireth a far larger process than here may conveniently be comprised; for though we have semblably to other dioceses in outward authority and exterior ceremonies a bishop, a suffragan, archdeacons, deans, commissaries, and other bishoplike officers entitled with spiritual names, also a multitude of monks,

[4] Host.—MS.

[5] Resians.—MS.

canons, friars, and secular priests, yet among them all, so many in number and in so large a diocese, is there not one that sincerely preacheth God's word, nor scarce any that heartily favoreth it, but all utter enemies there against, whose stubborn resistance cannot be without froward rebellion against the King's gracious acts established upon the verity of God's word. And concerning the enormous vices, the fraudulent exactions, the mis-ordered living, and heathen idolatry, shamefully supported under the clergy's jurisdiction, which by sequel of their blind wilful ignorance do consequently follow, no diocese I suppose more corrupted nor none so far out of frame, without hope of reformation, except your Mastership shall see a redress, in whom under the King's grace the trust of all those that mean well only consisteth. Finally their abused fashions at length to discover, at your commandment, I shall be ready with such certainty of truth, that no adversary shall be able to make contrary denial; which so performed, it may then please your good Mastership to license me for to depart under the lawful favour of your protection, without the which neither can I without peril repair home, nor there in safety continue among so odious adversaries of Christ's doctrine by whose tyranny that I may not be unjustly oppressed, I most humbly beseech your assistant aid, howbeit no farther than the verity of Scripture will justify my cause, neither for no carnal commodity of any worldly preferment, but all only for the advancement of Christ's gospel, to the honor of God, who evermore graciously preserve your Mastership in honorable felicity.

Your humble orator,

William Barlow, prior of Haverfordwest.

To the right honorable
Master Thomas Cromwell,
Chief Secretary to the King's highness.[5]

[5] The foregoing letter, which is without date, was written probably in the latter part of the autumn of 1535.—G.

II.

LETTER[6]

OF BISHOP BARLOW TO SECRETARY CROMWELL.

After my right humble commendations, the benevolent goodness of your Lordship toward me, apperceived both by your Lordship's letters and by relation of M. Doctor Barnes concerning such sums of money as I am indebted to the King's highness favourably to be respited, though I cannot in this nor in other your manifold benefits condignly make recompensation, yet the little that I may to the uttermost of my poor possibility my unfeigned endeavour shall not fail faithfully to perform. Concerning your Lordship's letters addressed for the taper of Haverfordwest, ere the receipt of them I had done reformation and openly detected the abuse thereof, all parties which before time repugned penitently reconciled. But sithen I chanced upon another taper of much greater credit and of more shameful detestation, called our Lady's taper of Cardigan,[7] which I have sent here to your Lordship with convenient instructions of that devilish delusion. Furthermore, where I admonished the canons of S^t^ David's according to the King's injunctions in nowise to set forth feigned relics for to allure people to superstition, neither to advance the vain observation of unnecessary holy days abrogated by the King's supreme authority, on S^t^ David's day, the people wilfully solemnising the feast, certain relics were set forth which I caused to be sequestered and taken away, detaining them in my custody until I may be advertised of your Lordship's pleasure.

[6] This letter was written from Carmarthen, March 31st 1538, after he had been in possession of the see for nearly two years.—G.

[7] At Cardigan there was a small priory inhabited by Black Monks of the Benedictine order, but when or by whom founded there is no record. It was situated at the eastern extremity of the town on the banks of the Teivy. According to Leland, it was a cell to the Abbey of Chertsey in Surrey. Subsequently it became the residence of the "Matchless Orinda" as she was generally called. On its site stands now a modern villa, still bearing the name of "the Priory," in which R. D. Jenkins, Esq., of Pantirion resides.—G.

The parcels of the relics are these: two heads of silver plate enclosing two rotten skulls stuffed with putrified clouts; Item, two arm-bones, and a worm-eaten book covered with silver plate. Of the canons' slumbering negligence toward the preferment of God's word, and what an ungodly disguised sermon was preached in the Cathedral Church in the feast of Innocents last passed, they being present with an auditory of three or four hundred persons, this bearer, a minister of the same church, shall further declare, having part of the said sermon in writing apparent to be showed.

Furthermore, though I might seem more presumptuous than needeth to motion any suit for the translation of the see from S^t^ David's to Carmarthen, yet, my good Lord, the just equity thereof and expedient utility enforceth me so to presume, considering that a better deed for the common wealth and due reformation of the whole mis-ordered diocese can not be purposed, as well for the preferment of God's word, as for the abolishing of all antichristian superstition, and therein the King's supreme majesty to be amplified with the universal commodity of his Grace's subjects there resident, annoying none with discommodity, except perchance four or five persons will surmise their private pleasure to be annoyed in profiting the common wealth. And the cause partly that moveth me thus with importune instance to be urgent in my suit, is the over sumptuous expenses that the canons have enterprised in re-edifying the body of their Cathedral Church, which ere it be fully finished will utterly consume the small residue of the church-treasure remaining in their custody, without any profitable effect, saving to nourish clattering conventicles of barbarous rural persons, the deformed habitations of the poor collegians in such beggarly ruin and so wretchedly decayed that honesty will abhor to behold them. Which to remedy, pleaseth the King's highness of his gracious bounty to grant the Grey Friars' place at Carmarthen,[8] where his most noble pro-

[8] At Carmarthen there was a Priory of Grey Friars, traces of which

genitor and grandfather lieth honorably interred, licensing the see thither to be translated, which (his Grace's pleasure condescending) may be performed without any chargeable difficulty, and not only the poor collegians but also the canons residentiary might be there pleasantly inhabited, with abundant provision of all necessary commodities, continually having opportune occasion to profit the King's subjects. Whereas at S[t] David's, lurking in a desolate corner, they that be best minded can do very little good, in case they would, saving to themselves. And concerning the friars, that they neither should be aggrieved with any prejudice. I doubt not but under the King's highness's favor of such preferments as I have of his Grace sufficiently to provide for every one of them that shall be found an able minister of Christ's church in competent learning and honest conversation.

Moreover the said town of Carmarthen being the most frequented place and indifferently situate in the middle of the diocese, I might there (and God willing so I would) settle my continual consistory, assisted with learned persons maintaining a free grammar school, with a daily lecture of holy scripture, whereby God's honour principally preferred, the Welsh rudeness decreasing, Christian civility may be introduced to the famous renown of the King's supremacy,[9] whose princely majesty almighty Jesu preserve with your good Lordship. From Carmarthen the last day of March.

Your Lordship's to command,

W. Meneven.

To the right honorable
and my singular good
Lord my Lord privy seal.

still exist in Friars' Park. It was a cell to the monastery of St. Augustine, at Bristol. Edmund Tudor, or Edmund Lancaster as he was also called, grandfather of Henry VIII., first Earl of Richmond, to whom the Bishop alludes in this passage, was interred at the Church of the Grey Friars. On the dissolution of the Priory his remains and his tomb were removed from Carmarthen to the Cathedral at St. David's, in the choir of which his tomb may still be seen.—G.

[9] Supremetye.—MS.

The preceding letter was accompanied by the following document:—

The examination of Thomas Hore, prior of Cardigan, donative of the late monastery of Chertsey, concerning the pretensed taper of our Lady there.

Imprimis, the said prior saith that he hath been prior there the space of five years.

Item, that he never saw the taper of our Lady within but at the nether end, where it appeared wood unto his judgment.

Item, that he esteemed the same to be a holy relic to his judgment, according to the fame of the country, unto the time that he saw it opened. And then he confesseth himself to have been deceived therein.

Item, that the image now situate in the church of Cardigan, which is used for a great pilgrimage to this present day, was found standing upon the river of Teivy, being an arm of the sea, and her son upon her lap, and the same taper burning in her hand.

Item, that the said image was carried from thence unto Christ's church of Cardigan, and the said image would not tarry there, but was found three or four times in the place where now is built the Church of our Lady, and the taper burning in her hand, which continued still burning for the space of nine years, without wasting, until the time that one forsware himself thereon, and then it extincted, and never burned after.

Item, that since the ceasing of burning of the said taper, it was enclosed and taken for a great relic, and so worshipped and kissed of pilgrims, and used of men to swear by in difficult[1] and hard matters, whereof the advantage amounted to great sums of money in times past, paying yearly of the same, twenty nobles for a pension unto the abbot of Chertsey.

The examination of Sir Morgan Meredith, vicar of our Lady church there.

Inprimis, he saith that he hath been vicar there twenty one years.

[1] Difficill.—MS.

Item, that prior Johan Frodsam told him, that because the people took the wax away he put the tree beneath; that the people should not diminish the substance of the taper, otherwise he assenteth and agreeth in all things with the prior.

Injunctiones dictis priori et vicario facte et injuncte decimo sexto die mensis Mercii auctoritate regia mediante.

Inprimis, that the said prior and vicar alternis vicibus shall preach and declare the gospel or the epistle read upon that day in the mother tongue, expounding the same sincerely as far as their learning will extend, opening to the people the abominable idolatry and deceitful juggling of their predecessors there, in worshipping and causing to be worshipped a piece of old rotten timber, putting the people in belief the same to be a holy relic, and a taper which had burned without consuming or waste, &c.

Item, the said prior and vicar shall so preach every Sunday and holyday betwixt this and dominica in albis.

Item, the said prior and vicar shall do away or cause to be done away all manner of clothes, figured wax, delusions of miracles, shrouds, and other enticements of the ignorant people to pilgrimage and idolatry.

Item, that they shall take an inventory of all and every such clothes, wax, shrouds and other enticements, and the same shall convert into the use of poor people, or otherwise to some other good use, making thereof a reckoning in writing, declaring the true bestowing and using of the same.

Item, that all and singular these injunctions shall be inviolably observed in pain of contempt.[2]

[2] The image and relics specified in the above document were objects of religious worship chiefly to the Normans, Flemings, and other foreigners who had settled in swarms in different parts of South Wales. The natives with few solitary exceptions disdained the idea of paying divine homage to such contemptible objects as are therein described. This is abundantly evident from the writings of the Welsh Bards, who ceased not to denounce in pointed terms, their use for the purpose of spiritual adoration.—G.

III.

LETTER[3]

OF BISHOP BARLOW TO SECRETARY CROMWELL.

After most humble recommendations, pleaseth your lordship to be advertised, that immediately upon the receipt of your honorable letters, I made delivery of such goods of the chanters of Saint David's as remained in my custody; and where it was suggested that I visited his house and took away all his goods and chattels, to certify your lordship unfeignedly of the truth, I caused nothing to be removed thence but certain chests, wherein was perceived to be his plate and money, which after his voluntary submission I did upon considerations, because part of the country was riotously raised up by his friends, and for the menacing rumours of M^r^ Richard Devourax hither coming, as this bearer my brother can further inform your Lordship with the whole circumstance of the chanters far abused demeanour and intolerable fashion. Wherein doing my duty, though I have not exceeded equity and conscience, yet is there such valiant bearing, contrary to all justice, that unless your good Lordship be my favorable defence in right, I shall not escape confusion. For, what by much money and many mighty friends, my adversaries, as they make their advaunt, doubt nothing to prevail. And of this partial bearing the principal procurers are two of my richest canons (other laud I cannot give them) sworn chaplains to my lord Ferrers, M^r^ Gryffyth ap Owen and M^r^ John Lewes, treasurer of Saint David's, who upon displeasure causeless in this matter to hinder my fame and to elevate my hatred, have since absented themselves, contrary to the King's acts; idly sojourning in Carmarthen, and now fully purposed without occasion of grief to be plaintiff against me, whom I never aggrieved in no case, except they account it for a grief, because in the late seditious season having notification that certain of the rebellious letters were amongst

[3] The date of this letter is the 5th of April, 1538. It was written at St. David's.—G.

the canons, severally examining them I tried [to find] out that the treasurer had a copy, which I requiring him to deliver, he made excuse that he had lost it, whereof I wrote to my brother then being at London to certify your Lordship, which came not to his hands, but as I am informed were since delivered to M^r^ William Popley. Concerning the other, M^r^ Lewes Gryffyth ap Owen, in my late visitation it was presented and found that he had kept a certain woman, having divers children by her, and caused (as she affirmeth, forced) her to contract matrimony with a servant of his own, and since by the space of two years hath suffered her daily frequenting his house to accompany another canon, one of his next neighbours (by whom she hath one child, and is ready to be delivered of another); which with like necessary matters of reformation I charitably laid to their charge. And as for any other causes of grief, I know none that they can lawfully allege against me, except they be aggrieved with my continual preaching and sincere setting forth of the King's gracious articles to the reproach of ungodly superstition and abominable idolatry, which with horrible blasphemy against God, and detestable delusion of the King's subjects, have been here shamefully supported, as by apparent evidence at your Lordship's pleasure ready to be showed, shall manifestly appear. And yet in all these things, notwithstanding their obstinate repugnance, I have used such attempered moderation, that if they can justly convince me of any rash inordinate extremity, I will never desire to be favored of your Lordship, which as I have always largely found without any demerit, so I trust never by no misdemeanour to lose; as knoweth Christ, who have your good Lordship in his keeping. From Saint David's the fifth day of April.

Your Lordship's to command,

W. MENEVEN.

IV.

LETTER

OF ELLIS PRICE[4] TO SECRETARY CROMWELL.

Right honorable and my singular good Lord and Master, all circumstances and thanks set aside, pleaseth it your good Lordship to be advertised that where I was constituted and made by your honorable desire and commandment commissary general of the diocese of Saint Asaph, I have done my diligence and duty for the expulsing and taking away of certain abusions, superstitions, and hypocrisies used within the said diocese of Saint Asaph, according to the King's honorable acts and injunctions therein made. That notwithstanding there is an image of Darvellgadarn[5] within the said diocese, in whom the people have so great confidence, hope, and trust, that they come daily a pilgrimage unto him, some with kine, other with oxen or horses, and the rest with money, insomuch that there were five or six hundred pilgrims to a man's estimation, that offered to the said image the fifth day of this present month of April. The innocent people hath been sore allured and enticed to worship the said image in so much that there is a common saying as yet amongst them, that whosoever will offer any thing to the said image of Darvell-gadarn, he hath power to fetch him or them that so offer out of hell when they be damned. Therefore, for the reformation and amendment of the premises, I would gladly know by this bearer your honorable pleasure and will, as knoweth God, who ever preserve your Lordship long in wealth and honor. Written in North Wales, the vith day of this present April.

Your beadman and daily orator by duty,

Elis Price.

[4] Ellis Price and John ap Price were appointed to visit the monasteries and other religious houses in Wales. The above letter was written in 1538.—G.

[5] For an account of the image of Dervel Gadarn and its fate, see a note subjoined to the Poetical Works of Lewis Glyn Cothi, p. 216. —G.

V.

LETTER[6]

OF BISHOP BARLOW TO SECRETARY CROMWELL.

After my right humble commendations. I consider [it] my duty to advertise your Lordship, that according to the purport of your letters lately received, signifying the King's highness's pleasure for the removing of idolatrous abused images, wherewith this country horribly did abound, in satisfying of the same I have diligently done mine endeavour, and that quietly every where within my diocese unresisted, without tumult, commotion, or disturbance, with no frustrate expectation (as I trust) of further effectual redress, in all causes of Christian religion and godly purposes of the king's most honorable and no less profitable proceedings. The people now sensibly seeing the long obscured verity manifestly to display her brightness, whereby their inveterate accustomed superstition apparently detected, all popish delusions shall soon be defaced, so that erudition, the parent of virtue and infallible foundation of all ordinate policy, which by the King's most renowned furtherance beautifully flourisheth in all other his royal dominions, might also be planted here in his Grace's principality of Wales, where knowledge utterly unknown, science is little regarded, barbarous ignorance piteously bleating in possession, notwithstanding would easily be redressed, without hindrance of the King's advantage, yea with notable augmentation of his most worthy honor, small expenses thereto requisite of any party, with much commodity of many, to the incommodity of none that prefer an universal weal before a private sensual pleasure. In case my petition through your good Lordship's mediation may be attained of the King's highness, for the transla-

[6] A copy of this letter was printed in the Appendix to *Fenton's Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire* (No. 8, pp. 31–34), in which several verbal errors occur, whereby, in some instances, the intended meaning is entirely altered. These errors were occasioned probably by the difficulty which the transcriber encountered in deciphering the caligraphy of the original MS.—Ed. Camb. Jour.

tion of the see to Carmarthen, and transposing of Abergwyli College to Brecknock, the principal towns of South Wales, where provision had for learning as well in grammar as in other sciences and knowledge of Scripture, the Welsh rudeness would soon be framed to English civility, and their corrupt capacities easily reformed with godly intelligence, which moveth me to be so instant a suitor and a continual petitioner, especially for the translation of the see, being situate in such a desolate angle and in so rare a frequented place (except of vagabond pilgrims), that evil disposed persons, unwilling to do good, may lurk there at liberty in secret without restraint, and they that would fain do well can have no convenient opportunity profitable to utter their well doing to the commodity of the common weal. Which, if there were none other causes, as there be infinite more reasonable than may be justly disallowed, and so evident that they cannot be shadowed, yet it might seem sufficient necessarily to persuade a translation of the see.

But furthermore, it hath been always esteemed a delicate daughter of Rome, naturally resembling her mother in shameless confusion, and like qualified with other perverse properties of execrable malignity, as ungodly image service, abominable idolatry, and licentious liberty of dishonest living, popish pilgrimages, deceitful pardons and feigned indulgences, in whose laud it is written,

Roma semel quantum dat bis Menevia tantum.

And as the Bishop of Rome crept up by policy, and reigning by tyranny was more than man, little less than God, whose authority never known was continually obeyed, no reason admitted to ask why, but as he would so did it avail, even thus hath our Welsh David been advanced to be patron of Wales, as he that had seigniory not only in earth, by lawless privileged exemptions, but power also in heaven, to give it whom he would, to discharge hell, to empty purgatory, to pardon sin, to release pain, yea to save his beneficial friends, to curse and kill his unfavorable adversaries, whose legend is so uncer-

tain of truth, and certainly full of lies, that not only his saintly holiness is to be suspected, but rather to be doubted whether any such person was ever bishop there, as is surmised, experience in semblable cases lately tried out by Dervelgadern, Conoch,[7] and such other Welsh gods, antique gargles of idolatry. And verily, if credence ought to be given to the most ancient writings that can be exhibited, whereof I have certain pamphlets testifying antiquity, both in barbarous letters and incongruous Latin, agreeable to the manners of that season, also mentioning such enormous fashion, that scarcely Rome might be comparable with Saint David's territory concerning presumptuous usurpation upon their princes, crafty encroaching of possessions, subtle defeating of inheritances, extortion, bribery, simony, heresy, idolatry, superstition, &c. Wherefore, considering that where Rome with all her popish pageants (praised be God!) through the King's most prudent provision is exiled forth of England, the unfeigned fidelity of mine allegiance enforceth me to wish all memorial monuments of her puppetry in like manner to be banished out of Wales, which hitherto remaining in the territory of S. David, scarcely[8] may be extinct without translation of the see. For except the manifold occasions of idolatrous infidelity and papistical practices (notwithstanding compulsory inhibitions and tongue professions) be clearly abolished, shall always renovate new fangled imaginations to counterfeit the old exercised wickedness. Wherein reducing to remembrance the priced memories and perpetual renowned facts of the famous princes of Israel, which did not only abhor idolatry and other ungodliness, but utterly abolished all occasions of the same, likewise notifying their terrible reproaches and aggravated punishments that were negligent, I doubt not but that my suppliant suit shall seem reasonable. And though peradventure some will object the contrary, the causes

[7] Conoch—what was the shape of this image? where was it located? —G.

[8] Unneth.—MS.

not prepensed, which partly I have uttered in these and other my former letters, omitting the residue, lest I should molest your Lordship; yet having the King's most benign and gracious favor with your assistant supportation, I trust so to justify the equity of my petition that no adversary shall be able to emblemish it. And if urgent importunity of hasty suit shall need excuse in this behalf, I have sufficiently to allege the importable charge and costly expenses of a sumptuous building (a commorth[9] lately granted for the same), which bestowed in Carmarthen or some other frequented place, might be pleasant, profitable, and commodious for the King's subjects, whereas otherwise it shall be wasted in vain and unprofitably perish in a barbarous desolate corner, as knoweth our Lord, who have you in his tuition. From Lamphey,[1] the 16th day of August.

Your Lordship's to command,

W. Meneven.

VI.

LETTER

OF RICHARD BISHOP OF DOVER TO SECRETARY CROMWELL.

. . . . . I had no word from you these five weeks. I would send to you divers relics, but they were too cumberous to carry. I have Malchus's ear that Peter struck off, as it is written, and a M. as true as that, but the holiest relic in all North Wales I send to you here; there may no man kiss that but he must kneel so soon as he see it, though it were in the foulest place in all the country, and he must kiss every stone, for in each is great pardon. After that he hath kissed it

[9] Commorth, a subsidy, a contribution made on any particular occasion. The term is derived from the Welsh cymhorth which signifies assistance.—G.

[1] There were formerly seven places of episcopal residence belonging to the See of St. David's, one of which was Lamphey (Llan-Vydd) Castle.—G.

he must pay a met of corn, or a cheese of a groat, or four pence for it. It is worth to the friars in Bangor,[2] with another image, the which I also have closed up, 20 marks by year in corn, cheese, cattle, and money. If that I should write of all such images at that idolatry hath been used, that would take a sheet of paper, the which I have avoided. I am now in Harford-east,[3] where that I have been these three days, and have had much business to bring my purpose to pass, by reason of the Grey Friars. With whom in every place I have much business, and also with an anchor in that house, but at the last I have my purpose, as by their releases ye may perceive, the which I send here, beseeching your lordship to be good lord to the mayors and bailiffs of such seats and towns as I have been in. I have found them very good and diligent to do such things as I have desired them. And also I pray you be good Lord to your servant master Holt, and to master - - - : they have much comforted me. I also am desired by many others of the king's servants to write for them; and divers be so importune on me to write, that I cannot avoid them, till that I promise to write. Some will give me 20 nobles, some more, but I have taken no penny of any, nor none I will take. One Johan Turner, the man of the guard at Ludlow, sore laboured to me to write. And this day I ride to Brecknock, and so to Carmarthen and to Harford-west, and so over to saint Michael's Mount, and so bring all Cornwall and Devonshire with me. Beseeching your Lordship to send me your pleasure of Bristol, Southampton, Salisbury, and other, and I ever your orator to Jesu, who preserve you. This 27th day of August. Written from Harford-east, by your servant,

RICHARD DOVORENC.

[2] There was, according to Leland, a Priory of Friars Preachers at Bangor, situated nearly on the same spot where the Free Grammar School now stands. It is said to have been enlarged in 1276, and afterwards in 1299 rebuilt by Tudor ap Gronow, Lord of Penmynydd and Trecastell in Anglesey.—G.

[3] Hereford.—G.

VESTIGES OF THE GAEL IN GWYNEDD.

UNDER this title two papers, by Mr. Basil Jones, appeared in the Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association; the first read at the meeting at Dolgelly, in 1850, and the second at the Congress at Ruthin; and the proposition sought to be established is, that Britain was inhabited by the Gael previous to its occupation by the Cymry, in direct opposition to the traditions of both people.

This idea is not new: it was first broached by Edward Lhwyd, on the ground that certain local names are not now generally understood by the Welsh, although easily explained by means of the Irish language.

There can be no doubt that many words once in common use among the Welsh are become obsolete, or so seldom used, at the present day, that they are not readily understood by the uneducated classes; but I believe there is not a single local name in Wales, except those that have become so corrupted as to defy all explanation, that is not capable of interpretation through the mediun of the Cymraeg. On the other hand, many local names in Ireland are Welsh; and therefore they may, with equal plausibility, and much greater accordance with tradition, be adduced as a proof that Ireland was in the first instance occupied by the Cymry, who were dispossessed by the Gael; for the latter do not pretend to have been the first inhabitants; the Milesian colony found the country already peopled on their arrival. On the contrary, we are told in the Triads, that previous to the arrival of the Cymry, Britain was inhabited by nothing but wild beasts —not to insist upon the meaning of the word Cymry— first comers, or primitive race.

Now, as to the local names relied upon by Mr. Jones, if the word "Gwyddel" had no other meaning than "Irishman," it might justify the inference that, at some period not well ascertained, the Gael had established themselves in different parts of Wales, even if there were

no tradition of the fact; but Gwyddel means, of or belonging to woods—woody, and, like the corresponding Latin Silvester, or Silvaticus, in a figurative sense, wild, or savage.

The majority of the forty-three local names collected by Mr. Jones may be understood in the primitive sense of the word, and I am disposed so to translate it in every instance, unless from some tradition, historical notice, or peculiar local circumstances, it appears probable that it should be otherwise rendered. For instance, Pentre Gwyddel, near Abergavenny, we may safely translate the "habitation of the Irishman;" because, in the immediate neighbourhood, we find Pentre Brithon, and Tre Saeson; but Nant-y-Gwyddel, opposite Llanthony Priory, is nothing more than the ravine of the wood, or woody dingle, which is the actual character of the place.

In the first volume of the *Cambrian Register* is a list of local names in Merionethshire, among which are two mentioned by Mr. Jones, Gwyddel fynydd, and Gwyddel Wern, translated very properly the "woody mountain," and "woody meadow." The Welsh seem to have applied the word in its secondary sense, much in the same way as the Greeks and Romans of old, and the Chinese at the present day, call every other nation but their own, barbarians; so we have Gwyddel o'r Iwerddon, the "wild Irish," and Gwyddel Fficti the "savage Picts." Did the Irish adopt the appellation? Certainly not; no people ever yet called themselves by an opprobrious name, or by one in any way indicative of inferiority to their neighbours.

The Irish Gael, Gaoidhil, or Gaoil—the word is written various ways—is explained in the dictionaries, "a clan, a tribe, kindred, men of the same race," and thus the Irish, speaking of themselves, were emphatically the Gael (of Eri understood); but the word was applied to other people with a distinctive addition: the Danes were Dubh Gael, the "black clan;" the Norwegians Fin-gael, the "white clan," very probably from the colour of their dress. The Saxons called the Britons Wealas, a word

which appears to have much about the same relation to weald, a wood, as Gwyddel has to gwydd, or Silvester to silva, and to have had a similar secondary import of wild, or savage; but they also called them Bryttas—Britons, and Brytt-wealas, which shows that Wealas was a term of contempt, the origin, no doubt, of Welsh, which the Cymry never appropriated to themselves; but, its origin being forgotten, and custom having established the usage, it is no longer considered an objectionable appellation. The idea, then, of a prior occupation of Britain by the Gael, who were driven out by the Cymry, rests on no solid foundation.

The existence of a Gaelic dynasty in Gwynedd, at a subsequent period, next demands attention; as to this, the traditions noticed by Mr. Jones are so inconsistent and contradictory, that nothing can with any certainty be inferred from them, beyond the fact, well known from better authority, that in the decline of the Roman power, the country was repeatedly ravaged by the Scots and Picts; but to what extent these marauders penetrated into South Britain we are left in ignorance; no details of their incursions have been preserved; but it is very possible that the period of 129 years may have reference to the time during which these incursions were carried on.

All the accounts of the pretended Irish sovereigns of Gwynedd, if they have any foundation in fact, are so mixed up with what is evidently fabulous, and are so utterly inconsistent with each other, that the whole appears little more than a myth, in which the only real personage is Cunedda, who, with his sons—whose names have a very suspicious appearance—established a dominion in North Wales, and was the acknowledged progenitor of its princes.

The accounts of this personage are very vague; we are merely told that he came from the North, which is no doubt correct, for his name proves him to have been a chieftain of the Gwyddel Fficti; it is not Welsh, but occurs frequently in the lists of the Kings of the Picts,

in which it is written Cinaeda, which, by the way, to an English eye, expresses the pronunciation of the name better than the Welsh orthography; and, having passed through the variations of Cinaed, Cinoid, and Cinit, became at last generally written Keneth.

As usual in Welsh traditions, the era of Cunedda is placed much too early. The only way to approximate to the truth is to calculate upwards from those of his descendants, the period of whose deaths are known with tolerable certainty, and making the usual allowance of not less than three generations in a century. By this mode of calculation, Cunedda would seem to have flourished in the latter part of the fifth century.

Few warriors of that period died a natural death, and I am therefore disposed to bring him still lower, and fix his era in the sixth century; for I think it probable he was the person reprobated by Gildas under the name of Cuneglasus, a compound apparently of Cunedd and Glas, with a Latin termination—an appropriate name for a Pict—one who painted or stained his body with woad.

The only ground for supposing he lived in the fourth century is an equivocal passage inserted in the Genealogies of the Saxon Kings, added to some copies of Nennius, which says that Maelgwn reigned in Gwynedd, because his *atavus*, Cunedda and his sons, had expelled the Scots, &c., 146 years before he began to reign.

Taking the word *atavus* to mean his great-grandfather's grandfather, his expedition into Gwynedd has been conjecturally fixed in 380; but all the genealogies agree that Maelgwn was the great-grandson of Cunedda; and this being so, the word *atavus* must be understood in the more general sense of ancestor. No dependence could be placed on the numerals C.XLVI., if we knew when Maelgwn did begin his reign, which is very uncertain; but he is said to have died of the plague, which, according to some accounts, commenced in 547, as others, in 557, and lasted five years. There is no reason to suppose he was an old man at the time of his death, which may have happened in any one of the fifteen years between

547 and 562. Taking it at the mean date, A.D. 554, the idea that his great-grandfather was living, and had ten grown up sons 174 years before, is simply absurd. The earliest date that can be assigned to Cunedda is therefore the close of the fifth century, or beginning of the sixth.

The immediate causes which induced or compelled this Pictish adventurer to leave his own country, and settle in Gwynedd, we have no certain account of. He cannot be identified with any one of the name in the lists of Kings of the Picts; but we may infer that he was probably the ruler of some petty district, and *a* king, but not *the* King of the Picts. That on his arrival in Gwynedd he found the country ravaged by a party of Irish marauders, which he defeated, is not impossible, although no notice of any such event is found in the Irish Annals; but that he found any dynasty of Gaels there established, rests upon very doubtful authority.

The earliest author quoted is Nennius, who says nothing about Irish or Gael, but merely that the sons of Liathan, the son of Ercal (Hercules), had seized Demetia, Gower, and Kidwelly, and retained possession until driven out by Cunedda and his sons.

The expression, son of Hercules, shows at a glance that the whole story is a mere myth, which, if it has any meaning at all, would prove the inhabitants of Demetia, &c., were not Gael. Leatha was the Irish name of Llydaw, or Brittany; and the same appellation was given to Latium; and it may be that the Demetians were considered to have been descended from a colony of Armoricans, or the Romans may be intended.

The legend of Don, King of Llochllyn and Dublin, betrays its comparatively modern origin, inasmuch as the Llochllynwyr did not make their appearance on the coast of Ireland before A.D. 792, and made no permanent settlement there till many years afterwards. The name of Sirigi, or Sitrick, the supposed opponent of Caswallon Lawhir, is purely Scandinavian; but no such King of Dublin existed at so early a period, although there was at a later.

This part of the relation is probably so far founded in fact, that at some time—the precise date of which has not been preserved—the Irish and Danish rovers, who frequently ravaged the coast, had overran the whole of Mona, but were at length defeated, and their leader killed, at Cerrig-y-Gwyddel, by a chieftain named Caswallon—by no means an uncommon name; and this event has been referred back to the grandson of Cunedda, who lived long before the Llochllynwyr were known.

Nennius makes no mention of any such events as the invasion of Mona by the Gael, or Llochllynwyr, and their expulsion by Caswallon, whence we may fairly infer that they occurred after his time. A diligent examination of the Irish Chronicles might perhaps throw some light upon the subject. I have not the means of referring to them but very partially; they contain many notices of events relating to Wales, which are not recorded in our own Chronicles.

Sirigi seems the same name as Sigtryg, and there were several Kings of Dublin of that name; but I am not aware whether either of them is said to have been killed in Anglesey. The earliest mention of the Northmen in the Welsh Chronicles is in 853, or thereabouts—for the chronology cannot be depended upon within a year or two—when we are told in the *Brut y Tywysogion* that Mona was ravaged by the Northmen (y Cenedlloedd dduon), nothing further being said beyond the mere mention of the fact; but in the *Annals of Ulster*, under the year 855, which, there can be little doubt, refers to the same marauding expedition, we read that there was war between the Northmen and the Welsh; and that Gorm, a leader of the Dubh-gals, was killed by Ryderic M'Mermhin (Rodri Mawr). And the following year, 856, Cathal-fin (? Caswallon) and the Welsh were defeated, and put to flight, by Ivar and Olave. I must confess I feel a very strong suspicion that Cathal-fin is only an Irish orthography of Caswallon, and that the chronicler, having recorded his defeat, did not think proper to mention the ultimate result of the campaign; on

the other hand, the Welsh thought fit to ignore the defeat of their countrymen, but were ready enough to record his ultimate success, and the death of the opposite leader, at Cerrig-y-Gwyddel.

This victory seems to have been a decisive one, as nothing more is recorded of the Irish-Northmen for some years; but in 873 they made another descent, and two battles are mentioned as having taken place, one at Bengolen, and a second at Menegyd,—places now unknown, but the latter expressly stated to be in Mona. The result in either case is not mentioned; as neither action is recorded by the Irish, we may perhaps infer that the advantage, if any, was on the side of the Welsh.

In 876 we have another instance of the *suppressio veri* in the Chronicles; the Welsh simply record a battle that took place on a Sunday in Mona, without giving the names of the parties, or the result; turn to the *Annals of Ulster* and we find, A.D. 876, "*Rederych M'Mermhin*," (Rodri Mawr,) "*King of Wales, came into Ireland for refuge from the Dubh-gals.*" Wynne most unaccountably asserts that Roderic and his brother, or son, were killed in this battle by the Saxons, contrary to both the Welsh and Irish accounts, which so far exactly agree, that, in the following year, viz., 877, Rodri and his brother (son) were killed by the Saxons, but neither give the locality; which was more likely at some place nearer the confines of their respective territories than in Anglesey.

After the battle in 876, the Dubh-gal probably collected all the booty they could, and retired to Dublin, and no other descent upon Mona is mentioned before 900, when a battle was fought at Rhos Melion, near Holyhead, in which the Welsh were the victors. The next year, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, the Northmen were expelled from Dublin by the native Irish.

It follows that any invasion of Mona by a Danish King of Dublin must have happened during the preceding century, and at no earlier period. All the legends, with exception of that in the additions to Nennius, where they are termed *Scottos*, represent the leaders of the invaders,

from Don ap Daronway, down to Sirigi inclusive, as Irish-Northmen, and not Gael; although it is probable that many of the native Irish, or proper Gael, were among their followers.

The whole, therefore, resolves itself into this, that obscure traditions of various piratical descents of the Northmen upon the coast of Gwynedd have, from time to time, been amplified and embellished by ignorant collectors, and placed at various eras, according to the fancy of the writers, but in every case long anterior to the times in which such events could possibly have occurred.

The so-called *Iolo MSS.* are, in great part, a collection of such traditions, collected, amplified, and embellished by whom, or at what time, it is impossible to say. Some of these *ancient* MSS. were produced at one of the Abergavenny Eisteddfods; and certainly, from the character of the writing, did not appear to me older than the time of the Stuarts. We may allow them a century or two earlier date without adding anything to their authority. The idle speculations of ignorant individuals, who amused themselves by drawing up a fabulous genealogy of the Princes of Glamorgan, in evident imitation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's romance, cannot be received as historical records, let their age be what it may. Such documents as the Genealogy of Iestyn ap Gwrgan, &c., might be concocted at any period, and by any individual who, for want of something better to do, chose to string together a parcel of names of imaginary kings, with such observations as are appended, that one was a good king, another a bad one, one a drunkard, another a saint; but to publish such trash as history, or even traditions, is an imposition upon the public, a waste of paper, time, and money, which might be more profitably employed in publishing the genuine chronicles, old poems, and other authentic documents relating to the Principality. Those articles even which come within the historical period, are little better than the former, and are contradicted by existing records in several most important particulars. The chronology is unworthy of notice, evidently the pro-

duction of some ignorant pretender, who knew nothing of the subject. Respecting the Gaelic settlements, the whole of these accounts, when closely examined, although previous piratical excursions seem referred to, relate to one settlement only of any duration; for notwithstanding the length of this occupation is stated to have been 129 years in one place, and 29 in the other—mere mythical numbers—we are told Sirigi lead them there, and the same person ruled them at their expulsion, and then lost his life at Cerrig-y-Gwyddel.

THOMAS WAKEMAN.

EXTENSION OF THE RAILWAY SYSTEM IN WALES.

THE great and unexampled influx of visitors from all parts of England to every point of the beautiful and romantic scenery of Wales, which has taken place during the summer of the present year, is owing, to a considerable extent, to the increase and improvement which have been made during the last few years in the means of communication between England and Wales, but more especially to the improvement in the means of communication within the Principality itself. The Cambro-Britons of modern times, like the ancient Britons, were until recently nearly separated from the rest of the world by natural difficulties, produced by inaccessible mountains and rapid unnavigable rivers, but during the last dozen years these obstructions have been in a great measure overcome by the introduction of railways, and within a dozen years of the present time there will probably not be a valley of importance in any part of Wales which will not be traversed, or a mountain chain which will not be surmounted or pierced, by the railways which are now spreading over the whole country.

The sources of wealth in the Principality of Wales are chiefly three. These are its minerals, numerous and

valuable; its fine ports and harbours, and its delightful and varied scenery and healthy climate, which cause it to be frequented by the lovers of natural beauty and sublimity, the seekers after health from every part of the kingdom, and those who are bent on pleasure and relaxation. Without the advantages which the railway and the power of steam applied to locomotion and transport afford, none of these advantages can be fully developed. Minerals are of little value without the means of cheap transport from the mountains in which nature has stored them to the cities or regions in which man can apply them to purposes of utility; the noblest harbours are useless without easy means of communication from their shores to the more populous districts of the interior, in which merchandise is produced and consumed; and even the charms of natural beauty and the invigorating breezes of the mountain and the sea are luxuries of the rich, not the common heritage of all men, so long as the means of easy and inexpensive communication do not exist from our densely crowded cities and towns to the mountain side and the sea shore.

The progress of the railway system, as developed in Wales up to the present time, has been to give the Principality three great lines of railway, running east and west, from the English border to the sea; a fourth great line, extending along the Welsh and English borders from Chester to Chepstow and Newport, Monmouthshire; and several shorter lines, some of which seem likely to be extended, step by step, until they also become great trunk lines, and form the outline of a complete system of railway communication to be extended throughout the whole Principality. The four great lines which are already completed are—1st, The line from Chester along the coasts of Flint, Denbigh, and Caernarvon, and through the Isle of Anglesey to the sea at the harbour of Holyhead; 2nd, The central line from Shrewsbury along the valley of the Severn and the Dovey, and through the counties of Montgomery and Cardigan to the sea, at the pleasant bathing-place of Aberystwyth; 3rd, The line from Glou-

cester through the counties of Monmouth (once part of Wales), Glamorgan, Caermarthen, and Pembroke to the sea at the noble haven of Milford; and 4th, The line from Chester to Chepstow and Newport, which passes through the Welsh counties of Flint and Denbigh, as well as the English counties of Chester, Salop, Hereford, and Monmouth, uniting the three previously named lines with each other, and with the whole railway system of England. Another great line is also in progress, which is intended to reach from the English border to the sea, up the valley of the Dee. This line commences at Ruabon, runs up to Llangollen, and is expected to be completed to Corwen in the course of the present year, the works being finished except about thirty yards of tunnelling under the Berwyn mountains. From Corwen this line is to be carried up the valley of the Dee to Bala and its beautiful lake, from which the river issues. On this part of the line the Corwen station is in progress, and the greater part of the land has been secured. The promoters of the Corwen and Bala line also propose to continue their railway from Bala to Ffestiniog, and from that charming place to the sea at Portmadoc. When the whole of this line is completed, Wales will possess four great trunk lines of railway, running from the English border to the sea, and a fifth line extending along the whole length of the border.

But one if not two trunk lines, extending from north to south, are also required to render the outline of the system complete, and to unite all the lines from the English border to the sea with each other. This is still the great difficulty to be overcome. The difficulty arises from the circumstance that nearly all the Welsh valleys and all the Welsh mountain chains run from east to west, and must therefore be crossed by lines of railway running from north to south. This is a serious difficulty even on the Welsh border, where the mountains are not more than 1000 feet high; it becomes still greater in the central parts of Wales, where mountains rise to the height of from 1500 to 2000 feet; and is again immensely in-

creased in the Snowdonian region, where the mountains rise to the height of 3000 to 3500 feet—Snowdon, the monarch of all, towering to the height of 3571 feet.

But, great as this difficulty is, it has already been conquered at several points, and it will ultimately be so completely overcome as to give one, if not two, complete lines of railway from north to south. It will be overcome, as all similar difficulties are overcome in this country, by local energy and the joint-stock principle of of association. There are already two or three railways opened or far advanced, which will greatly assist to complete such a line. A person wishing to travel by railway from Holyhead to Milford Haven without going round by the English border would only find two gaps in the line. From Holyhead to Corwen there is an uninterrupted line of railway by going up the Vale of Clwyd, and this will soon be completed to Bala. There is a gap of from 20 to 25 miles from Bala to Machynlleth, at which point the Shrewsbury and Aberystwyth line is reached. A second gap occurs between Aberystwyth and Newcastle-Emlyn. There the South Wales system of railways is reached, which extends to Milford Haven. We see no reason to doubt that these gaps will be filled up before long, and that thus a complete line of railway will be formed from north to south, by which there will be an uninterrupted railway communication from every part of North Wales to every part of South Wales, through the centre of the Principality. In course of time a still shorter line will probably be formed, running southward along the coast from Caernarvon to Aberystwyth. This, when completed, will give the Principality a complete system of trunk railways. Many vigorous branches are already growing on one or other of the existing trunks, and still more are beginning to germinate.

F. L. M.

UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF THE REV. EVAN EVANS.

THE following is one of the many letters of the patriotic Prydydd Hir in my possession, which have never been printed. Though taken from an autograph, it bears neither date, nor the name of the person to whom it was addressed. Its publication in the *Cambrian Journal* will, I trust, elicit from your correspondents some information on these points. It does not appear that the bard, whom misfortune constantly attended, was successful in his suit for patronage to this descendant of Ivor Hael.

D. SILVAN EVANS.

WORTHY SIR,—I take the liberty of addressing you as a lover of your country, and an encourager of learning, and as a person descended from the great Macænas of the Welsh Bards, Ifor Hael of Gwern y Cleppa, and, of course, disposed to promote any laudable undertaking, carried on by your countrymen. I have for several years, taken great pains to rescue the few antient British Remains in Poetry and History from ruin and oblivion, that lie scattered in several private libraries in North Wales, and which I think are worth preserving. I drew up last year the following Catalogue of particulars, as far as my memory could then recollect them. I did this in order to give those that are disposed to encourage the undertaking some idea of the nature of the different tracts. What I think will be most acceptable to my countrymen in general is a new edition of the History of Wales by Caradoc of Llancarfan. There have been two editions of this History already published; the first by David Powel, D.D., A.D. 1584; the other by Mr. William Wynn, 1700, and lately republished by Mr. Thomas Evans, printer in London. I have a great many particulars from several Monkish writers and others of our own, which were not taken notice of by either of those editors, which I intend to publish by way of appendix, in order to confirm and illustrate the facts related in the British Copy.

As I am at present destitute of a patron to carry on this work to perfection, I take this opportunity of laying the following rough sketch before you, though I have not had the happiness of any previous acquaintance with you. If you do not encourage the undertaking, I must ever despair of reaping any fruit of my labours, some having already disappointed me, who promised fairly at first, and by their feigned patronage have brought me to real distress.

This hath put a stop to my studies, and my ill state of health hath obliged me not to do any duties of my function for several years past.

I have a large collection of books at Aber Ystwyth in Cardiganshire, and a room for which I pay three pounds a year. My collection of Manuscripts likewise is there, and I am afraid must be in a great measure spoiled by dampness, and want of fire in the room. I came over last year to serve for a few weeks for a Clergyman that wanted to see his friends in Cardiganshire. I have not been so lucky as to meet with a vacancy yet that will suit my state of health. Three Churches being more than I can read in for any length of time. I want clothes to put on, and money in my pocket, and am destitute of every means to relieve myself for these two years past, for want of proper notice being given by my last patron, when he thought proper to withdraw his bounty from me.

I have, the beginning of last summer, advertised for a school at Aber Ystwyth, and after paying two guineas for the advertisements, had the mortification of having not a number of scholars sufficient to support me. This I thought very hard, as I have made a very good progress in the Greek and Latin languages, and have made exercises in verse and prose in both.

I have spent last winter with a very humane gentleman in Carmarthenshire, and in the spring of the year thought it best to enquire once more for a curacy, and if possible to procure a patron that will enable me to finish what I have for so many years prosecuted, as far as my other avocations would permit me.

If you would, for two years, let me have your encouragement, till my health is re-established, and till I be fixed either in a curacy or a school to get my livelihood, you will do both a generous and humane act.

I could produce in that interval some fruits of my industry; particularly, I could finish the History of Wales, above-mentioned, which by permission I shall dedicate to yourself.

If you have any perpetual curacies in your donation that should happen to be vacant, I would desire your favour of succeeding in one of them.

I have taken the liberty of drawing this rough draught of my present distressful situation, and leave you to determine what you think proper to do towards my relief.

I am, with great respect,

Your most obedient humble servant,

EVAN EVANS.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE NORMANS IN GLAMORGAN.[1]

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THE "winning of Glamorgan" (*Gwlad-Forgan*, "the dominion or territory of Morgan"), at the close of the eleventh century, by a band of Norman adventurers, is one of the most curious and interesting episodes in the annals of the Cymry. In its chief incident the story resembles that of the Iliad—a married woman of princely birth and fatal beauty having been the proximate, yet innocent, cause of the ruin of her family and the subjugation of her people. The circumstances that led to this double disaster have been variously related by local and contemporary chroniclers, the greater part of whose writings, it is to be regretted, still remain in manuscript, and are known, therefore, to none but a few literary antiquaries in friendly correspondence with their fortunate owners. Indispensable as these private documents are to the historian of the middle ages, yet he need exercise more than ordinary circumspection and patience whilst threading his way through their curious and conflicting testimony.

By the aid, however, of other more impartial accounts, all the particulars of the Norman invasion of Glamorganshire—the true cause as well as the issue of it—may be clearly discerned and set forth; and even the discordant materials just referred to, when read by the light of more credible records, may be made subsidiary to this end.

At the time when King William Rufus was reigning in England, Iestyn, the son of Gwrgan, was Prince of Glamorgan. His territories were very extensive, comprising, first and principally, Morganwg, or Glamorgan proper, under which appellation all the country between

[1] See an Account of the Lordship of Glamorgan in the *Cambrian Journal* for 1859, pp. 68–71.—ED. CAMB. JOUR.

the rivers Usk and Neath was included; secondly, the three slieves or appendages of Gwent, or the country between the rivers Usk and Wye; thirdly, the Red Cantred, or the district between the Wye and the Severn, extending to Gloucester Bridge, and thence in a straight line to Hereford; fourthly, the Cantred, or country lying between the rivers Neath and Tawy; and, lastly, Gower and Carnwyllion, between the rivers Tawy and Towy. The Red Cantred formed the dowry of his second wife, Angharad, daughter of Elystan Glodrydd, lord of Ferlex, or Hereford. This unfortunate lady has been designated, not inapatly, the Helen of South Wales. Her age at this time (A.D. 1088) has not been recorded; most probably she was in the prime of life; but be that as it may, her praise was in every one's mouth, she being really pre-eminent among her sex, as well for the exquisite beauty of her person as for the singular endowments of her mind. Some ancient authors maintain that her husband was not an absolute prince, but that he held his Welsh seignory at the pleasure of Rhys ap Tewdwr, Prince of Deheubarth, or South Wales, a more potent lord than himself, and to whom he owed some kind of military service. But this is very questionable, inasmuch as Iestyn, like his alleged suzerain, was one of the representatives of "the five royal families of the Cymry" (*Pump brenynllwyth y Kymry*), and therefore could have had no superior, and but few equals. According to a very ancient custom of the country, when a common danger threatened it, the several *reguli*, or sovereign chieftains, elected one of their number to head their combined forces, and undertake the sole management of the war. This Pendragon, as he was called, owed his election rather to political influence (which again was determined in no small measure by the extent of his dominions) than to his military capacity; for all, in fact, had been trained to arms, and accustomed to command from their youth. This prudential arrangement, however, only involved a quasi-subjection of the other chieftains, ceasing immediately with the occasion that had necessitated its adoption. In respect of poli-

tical standing or influence, the Princes of Glamorgan ranked, no doubt, in the public estimation somewhat lower than the Tewdwrs; and this circumstance may possibly have given rise, at a subsequent period, to the idle report of Iestyn being a feudatory of Rhys. But he was his equal in dignity of birth and station, in a word, "a diademed prince" like himself. They were, however, rivals, and the children of rivals—a social rivalry, in fact, had existed almost from time immemorial in their respective families; and the dependents of Rhys Ap Tewdwr, the real author of his country's ruin, if they could not hope to succeed in quite obliterating from the page of history that odious blot on his fame, yet could derive a contemptible satisfaction in lessening as much as possible the importance of the person whose confidence their master had betrayed under circumstances of peculiar baseness.

Rhys ap Tewdwr, Prince of Deheubarth, was undoubtedly the most powerful of the royal chieftains in South Wales at the close of the eleventh century. His territory then included the counties of Caermarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan; but in a former age his illustrious progenitors had exercised supreme authority over the greater part of the Principality. According to some accounts, he was at this time far, very far advanced in years; but according to other and more probable accounts, "he was in the flower of his youth, and (as will be presently seen) prone to voluptuousness." But whatever his age, he is allowed on all hands to have been uncommonly vigorous, and to have possessed all the warlike courage characteristic of his age and race.

The origin of his downfall (which, like many other passages in his strange career, is sufficiently epic for the purposes of the past) is thus related by a local writer of the sixteenth century:[2]—

[2] Rice Meyrick, Esq., author of *Morganiæ Archaiographia*, or the Antiquities of Glamorganshire. The only known copy of this work, in MS., having fallen into the hands of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., of Middle Hill, Worcestershire, he printed five-and-twenty copies only for private circulation. The date of the MS. is 1578.

"The Princes of Wales," says he, "in those days had their *Beirdd*, whom the Latinists name *Bardi*, in high estimation and credit, as those in whom the greatest perfection of learning and wisdom did consist; who for pleasure used to resort to other princes and lords, and as their *Beirdd* were entertained and rewarded, so they supposed themselves beloved and esteemed by their neighbours. The *Beirdd*, therefore, appertaining unto Rhys ap Tewdwr, after they had been with Iestyn in Morganwg, being demanded what news and entertainment they found in Morganwg, answered, 'Nothing else, but that Deheubarth and Morganwg want but one thing, namely, a meet match: which might have been well remedied, if Iestyn had been married to Rhys' wife, and he to Iestyn's wife;' whom they with high praises extolled, as well for her beauty as for her good qualities, in whom nature and fortune contended which should show her greater favour and honour. By reason of which grew that malady which was the ruin and decay of both their families."

The matchless beauty of his neighbour's wife, as reported by his gossipping Bards, so inflamed the imagination of Prince Rhys, that he could find no rest until he had been gratified with a view of her. In the quaint language of the authority just quoted,—

"He was so kindled with Venus' dart, and fervent desire to see her, that he closed up the eyes of Reason, devising diverse ways and means how to attain sight of her; at last imagined to procure a meeting between Iestyn and him, near the borders of their dominions; as well to treat of matters which concerned their seignories, as also to solace themselves, and to renew acquaintance, and confirm unity between them; and that therefore each of them to bring his wife."

The moment for carrying out this project for a meeting between the two Silurian princes was extremely propitious. The political atmosphere in the west had just been freed from long impending gloom: there was a lull, in brief, in the seignory of Deheubarth after an unusually violent storm. Rhys Ap Tewdwr had just succeeded in quelling a formidable rebellion, headed by Cedrych, the son of Gwaethvoed, lord of Cardigan, and Blethyn, the son of Conwyn, two of the most powerful of his feudatories. At its first breaking out, Prince Rhys had been driven from the country, and compelled to seek a tem-

porary refuge in Ireland, whence returning with a considerable body of mercenaries, and being rejoined by his faithful retainers, he had surprised and completely vanquished his enemies at Llechryd, on the banks of the Teivy, in Cardiganshire, and so regained possession of his dominions. Some writers say, that Iestyn took an active and open part in these transactions, as the ally of Blethyn; whilst others affirm that he only favoured in secret his pretensions, by supplying him with money and arms; but for these and similar idle suspicions, subsequently created by his indefatigible detractors, there is no foundation whatever. At this period, in fact, his thoughts were wholly concentred on the preservation of his own territories, more particularly that portion of them which lay on the borders of Breconshire, where the Normans, under Sir Bernard de Neuf Marché, partly by force and partly by fraud, had recently obtained a permanent footing. This primary invasion of South Wales by the conquerors of England, undertaken with the privity and sanction of King William Rufus, who, for obvious reasons, confirmed every advantage gained by his adventurous countrymen, by conferring the lordships of the dispossessed Cymry upon them, was necessarily a matter of the gravest importance and solicitude to Iestyn; whose dominions, as well in the north as in the east, were now exposed to the incursions and rapacity of those errant knights. It was obviously his best policy, therefore, to ally himself with the free princes of his own country, rather than with those needy and unscrupulous foreigners, whose numbers were daily increasing about him, and whose appetite for spoil was whetted by brilliant success.

These considerations, no doubt, influenced Iestyn when he consented to the seemingly friendly proposal of his neighbour Rhys. And with a view of combining pleasure with business, and of giving additional *éclat* to the league of the two princes, it was resolved, at the same time, by the chief of their followers, to revive at Neath, within the limits of Morganwg, where the meeting was

to come off, the Druidic "Chair of Vocal Song or Poetry;" which from time immemorial had been held in that place, but of late years, owing to the disturbances in the adjoining state, had been suffered to fall into neglect. Such festive gatherings, or "Conventions," as they were popularly called, were accounted among the most glorious and sacred institutions of the country. The spot selected for celebrating them was designated "the inviolate refuge of peace and heavenly tranquillity;" therefore, no expressions but those of affectionate respect were to be uttered there; no instrument of man's vengeance was permitted there; he entered the place unarmed, and reserved his strength for drawing tighter the bonds of unity; the fruits of peace only were cultivated; the promotion of learning, the extension of knowledge, and the inculcation of moral and religious duties being not the least important of the many objects of the "Convention;" and, lastly, in order to impress more fully upon the imagination of those attending it, the great solemnity of the occasion, all the ceremonies were performed, and all the discussions were held, agreeably to the Bardic injunction, under the canopy of heaven, "in the face of of the Sun, and in the eye of Light."

To Neath accordingly, on the appointed day, when the great luminary was entering the equinoctial, and the moon was full,—also indispensable regulations to be observed on these occasions,—repaired the two princes of Morganwg and Deheubarth, each accompanied by his wife and a numerous train.

"The place," writes a contemporary, "enjoyed so effectually the inviolate refuge of peace and heavenly tranquillity, that a period of protection was, at all times, extended to every human being, of whatever country, who should resort there."

On this, as on all similar occasions, great numbers of people, therefore, came flocking from far and near, to participate in the general festivity.

"Chieftains, and the principal gentlemen, scholars and wise men of Glamorgan and Gwent, Dyved (Pembrokeshire), Ceredigion (Cardigan), the country of Builth (Breconshire), Gereinwg

(the territory between the Wye and the Severn), the territory of Rheged (Gower), and the Three Commots (between the rivers Llychwr and Towy), attended the restoration of this Chair; and the assemblage was great and magnificent."

The appearance of the beautiful Angharad[3] more than fulfilled the expectations of the curious Rhys: "she surmounted (it is said) the praises of her unto him reported." The sight of her, in fact, "so inflamed his heart with fire, that he determined, either by secret entreaty or by enforcement, to possess his desired prey." But his thoughtless impetuosity betrayed him. Towards the close of the first day's festival, which followed a solemn "Confederation," or ratification of friendship between nine of the principal chieftains then present, including most likely Iestyn and himself, "Rhys the son of Tewdwr," says the contemporary just quoted, "conducted himself in an unseemly manner towards the wife of Iestyn;" that is (as reported by another authority), he used "covert talk with her, fayning some other cause, and discovered his secret suit and determinate purpose." The lady, although taken altogether by surprise when thus rudely addressed, appears nevertheless to have shown infinitely more discretion than her impatient and dishonourable wooer. Instead of raising an instant alarm by publicly denouncing the man who had so shamefully abused the hospitality and confidence of his neighbour, and, above all, "violated the peace of God and his heavenly tranquillity," and thereby occasioning desperate strife, and possibly much bloodshed, even within the sacred precincts of the Convention, the outraged princess had sufficient wit, or presence of mind, to restrain for a while her indignation and grief, and suffered the recreant monarch to multiply the damning proofs of his presumption and folly.

In no other way can the ancient chroniclers of Wales, when commenting on this passage in Angharad's history, account for the exercise of so much forbearance and tact on her part, except by attributing both to the circum-

[3] The Rev. Thomas Basset states her name to have been Nest. See *Cambrian Journal* for 1860, p. 23.—Ed. Camb. Jour.

stance of her being the daughter of one and the wife of another "royal" chieftain. She was blessed, therefore, with a double share of wisdom! At all events, she kept her own counsel till the festivities of the day had been brought to a close, and all the visitors had retired to their several quarters for the night. It was not till then that she disclosed to her husband the treachery and dishonour of Rhys; "and lest violence should be offered her, which she mistrusted," earnestly entreated Iestyn to put at once the whole extent of his territory between herself and the object of her dread. She also besought him to accompany her. Accordingly, under cover of the darkness, attended only by a few trusty followers, the injured wife and her husband fled to their stronghold or castle of Cardiff.

In the morning, when their precipitate departure had become generally known, it occasioned no little surprise and speculation among the various classes assembled at Neath. In ignorance of the true reason of it, there were few who did not construe their conduct as an act of unparalleled discourtesy to all present. Rhys Ap Tewdwr seems to have turned this popular feeling of indignation to his own advantage, and to have simulated displeasure with singular skill:—

"For," says Rice Meyrick, "the next day, when he was advertised of their sudden departure, perceiving that he was disappointed of his hoped prey, he waxed in a marvellous chafe; and so raging, departed to Deheubarth, complaining of Iestyn's discourtesy and ingratitude, and affirming it to be done in slight of him (not revealing the cause, although he knew it best), threatening that such a reproach should not be laid up without revenge."

Returned to his own dominions, the discomfited Rhys at once set about arming his retainers and summoning his friends, for the purpose of avenging, as he pretended, the insult offered to them and himself by Iestyn ap Gwrgan. In vain that much abused prince explained the true cause of his recent behaviour and by so doing exposed the baseness of that of his enemy. But his reiterated avowals of innocency fell dull upon the ears of

those whom he sought to appease. They thought more of their own interests, or what they might possibly gain in the impending struggle, than of his honour. In an age characterised above all others for deeds of ruthless violence and rapine, no knowledge of the occult science was necessary in order to raise the demon of strife; the only difficulty was to exorcise him after his appearance. The prospect of a mortal feud between two powerful rulers had, of course, irresistible charms for those who profited in proportion to the extravagance of their folly; and in this instance, therefore, there were not wanting, on either side, evil advisers and turbulent spirits, to foment the disgust of the principals.

"This matter," says Rice Meyrick "grew by degrees between them, from displeasure to spite and disdain, and so to rooted malice and desire of revengement; which so pierced the hearts of those mighty lords, that they could not withhold themselves, but they must needs seek each other's ruin; and especially Rhys ap Tewdwr, either overcome with his phrensy, or trusting too much to his puissance, was so marr'd of his wife's affection, that neither friendly request nor reasonable offer could appease his rage nor assuage his fury, but determined to end their quarrel by fortune of battle."

Fully two years elapsed before hostilities commenced, when a circumstance occurred which changed the whole aspect of affairs in the two principalities, and presently involved both the disputants in ruin. The report of their quarrel, and the imminency of war between them, had travelled far beyond the limits of South Wales, reaching and interesting, among others of note at that time, Einion, or Ienan, the son of Collwyn, the noble chieftain whose lordship of Dimetia, watered by the Teivy, and other possessions, had been forfeited to Rhys ap Tewdwr, his liege lord, for his participation in the recent rebellion; or of which, according to some accounts, he had been unjustly deprived by that unscrupulous prince, and provoked therefore to take up arms against him. But be that as it may, after the bloody and decisive conflict at Llechryd, this Einion was one of the very few defeated combatants that escaped with his life. Since then he had been living

in the strictest seclusion. Now, however, he quitted it, and hasting to Glamorganshire, tendered his sword to Iestyn, to whom he was in a manner related. Some say that Iestyn was his uncle. Of all the feudatories in Deheubarth, Einion was the most influential and warlike. He was the only chieftain whom his lord really feared; and for whose apprehension therefore, after his flight from the battle-field, Rhys ap Tewdwr had offered to give three hundred head of cattle, as well as one thousand acres of land in free lordship to any one who would take him either dead or alive, and bring him into his presence. And he was fully worth this reward. Few Welshmen, in that age, had seen more foreign military service than this fugitive chief. He had followed the banners of the Normans both in England and France; was personally known therefore to all the principal knights of that adventurous nation, and even stood high, it is said, in the estimation and favour of King William Rufus, in whose courts, as well as in whose camps, he had passed no inconsiderable time. Some accounts state, indeed, that he was "in the king's palace," at London, when the news of the quarrel between Iestyn and Rhys Ap Tewdwr first reached him. Burning to avenge himself upon the perfidious Rhys, and perceiving a good opportunity of doing so, he hastened to Iestyn, and found little difficulty in persuading his anxious relative to seek the mercenary assistance of his Norman acquaintances. Einion undertook to negociate the terms, and in return for these services Iestyn Ap Gwrgan promised him his youngest daughter Nest[4] in marriage, with a competent dowry.

With this understanding Einion went immediately in search of his friend and former companion-in-arms ("one with whom he had been brought up in his youth," it is said), Sir Robert Fitz-Aymon, head of the noble House of Corbeil, in Normandy, and a near kinsman of King William Rufus, to whom he made known his desires.

[4] In the Rev. Thomas Basset's account (*Cambrian Journal* for 1860, p. 25) her name is said to have been Gwladys.—Ed. Camb. Jour.

A bargain was soon struck between them, the Norman stipulating for the payment of his services in gold. Whether Fitz-Aymon from the first, as some have alleged, "trusted to aspire to some seignory or dominion in Wales, in hopes of the dissensions bruited to be among the princes and great lords thereof," or was merely actuated by the spirit of adventure so characteristic of his race, cannot now be absolutely determined. What is known of him is, that, unlike the generality of his countrymen, his fortune was fully proportioned to his high rank and birth. He was already the possessor of several rich baronies and lordships in Normandy and England, and filled besides more than one lucrative office in the household of his sovereign. It would seem, therefore, that the love of adventure, and not greed, was the governing motive, when he decided to aid Iestyn in his struggle with Rhys. Perhaps, moreover, he was induced to do so, in part at least, because the first-mentioned of those princes was in one sense his neighbour, and although not intimately acquainted with him (neither record nor tradition pretends that they were absolute strangers to each other), yet the Norman might show to his equal, in birth at least, that respect which ordinarily governed the motions of the nobility even in that rude age. Fitz-Aymon was Earl of Gloucester and Tewkesbury, the former of which lordships was contiguous to that of Iestyn's on the eastern side of the Severn. Judging this noble knight, however, by the standard of Norman virtue, as settled by long and woful experience, the majority of of Welsh chroniclers in those ancient times only see in this fact of their neighbourhood an additional reason for questioning the courtesy of Fitz-Aymon when hastening to the relief of Iestyn ap Gwrgan, and conclude him to have been quite as unscrupulous and rapacious as the generality of his countrymen. But whatever may have been his ulterior views in the matter, Fitz-Aymon lost not a moment in fulfilling his part of the compact with Einion. In the spring of 1091 (some say two years earlier), accompanied by twelve knights, of whom his

brother was one, twenty-four esquires, and 3000 men-at-arms, he embarked at Bristol; and, crossing the channel, landed at Porthkerry (about four miles westward of Barry Isle), then, as now, one of the most fertile, as well as lovely spots in the dominion of Glamorgan. There he was met by Iestyn, who with his retainers had been awaiting his advent with impatience. Without the Normans that prince's own forces would have been utterly indequate for the occasion; they amounted in all to little more than 2300 men; "for the lords and knights of his own country," says Sir Edward Mansel, "had refused him much aid." Of that limited number, it is said that the contingent of Cedrych ap Gwaethvoed (whose services no doubt had been also retained by his countryman and co-rebel Einion) consisted of 2000 warriors; others say, however, that they numbered 1000 only. Be that as it may, the combined forces marched northward at once, where Rhys ap Tewdwr was already afoot. That prince, when assured of Iestyn's alliance with the Normans, had passed over his borders, laying waste the country in his progress, and trusting to overtake and crush him before his junction with them. But in this hope he was disappointed; Iestyn having prudently declined to arrest or engage him in the absence of his allies. At length the hostile armies met on a dreary and desolate moor, still known by the name of Hirwaun Wrgan, or Hirwain Common (the gift of Gwrgan, Iestyn's father, to his people for a cattle range), a few miles to the west of Merthyr-Tydfil. There a most desperate and sanguinary battle was fought, which lasted throughout the greater part of a day, and terminated in the utter discomfiture of Rhys. He himself fled from the field, but being overtaken a few miles from it, whilst fording a stream in the lesser of the two valleys of Rhonddu, was despatched on the instant. His head was afterwards struck off and carried away in triumph by his merciless foes. The remembrance of this piece of wanton barbarity is perpetuated in the name of the spot—*Penrhys*, or "the head of Rhys." "With him," laments

Caradoc, the historian, "fell the glory and grandeur of the principality of South Wales!"

The miserable remnant of Rhys ap Tewdwr's army having been dispersed, and himself slain, the conquerors immediately commenced retracing their steps, halting at Cowbridge on their way to the coast, whither, in particular the Normans were bound. Within three miles of that ancient little town, on the western side of it, is a tract of common called "Y Filltir Aur," the "Golden Mile," where, according to tradition, Iestyn paid the sum in gold for which he had engaged their services. After which, each well satisfied apparently with the bargain he had made, they took leave of each other, separating with mutual expressons of respect and good will; Iestyn proceeding towards the west, probably for the purpose of tranquillizing his people after the recent events, and Fitz-Aymon towards the roadstead of Penarth, in the vicinity of Cardiff, where himself and followers intended re-embarking for Bristol. Some accounts state that Iestyn and certain attendants accompanied their friends to the water-side, and there parted with them; but, as will be seen in the sequel, there is little probability of this having been the case. Others, again, state that the Normans pursued their march alone to a place formerly known as Pwll Meuryg, or the Pool of Meyrick, by Chepstow, where their transports were moored; but this relation is much more improbable than the last. Independently of that chivalric spirit which, we may well suppose, would have restrained Fitz-Aymon from making, as it were, a circuit of a friendly lord's territory, unaccompanied by him, and so by procrastinating his departure giving rise to just suspicions of his purpose, the events that almost immediately ensued after their separation most clearly evinced the contrary. In taking their leave of Glamorgan, there seems to have been no intentional delay on the part of the Normans. Upon reaching their transports off Penarth, or the headland by Cardiff, they immediately embarked and set sail; and whilst yet in sight of port were all invited to return, which they did.

All contemporary and succeeding writers are agreed as to the true cause of this sudden determination of Fitz-Aymon and his followers. It is connected with one of the few passages in the personal history of Iestyn that has never been controverted, not even by his staunchest adherents or his ablest apologists. On this occasion the folly of his conduct was so patent, his treatment of Einion, to whom he was deeply indebted, so unjust, that no excuse has been offered for the one, much less any denial made of the other. Intoxicated with his recent success, and too fondly persuading himself of its continuance, Iestyn estimated the claims of his preserver as lightly as his own honour, when, in an arrogant humour, he obstinately refused to redeem the double pledge which he had given him, namely, the hand of his daughter with a suitable dowry. It is not quite certain whether "he flatly denied" his obligation altogether, or merely "deferred," until some more convenient season, the fulfilment of it. This conduct, in either case, was equally unworthy of his friend and himself. The story of his ingratitude to Einion is related by Rice Meyrick in this wise:—

"After the salary (says he) was paid to the mercenaries at Golden Mile, they were accompanied to the water side, namely Penarth, by Iestyn and his attendants; and the next day after that Iestyn came to Cardiff, Ienan pressed him to perform his promise, viz., give Nest, Iestyn's daughter, to be his wife; which because not speedily effected, according to Ienan's expectation, and fearing lest that feigned delays should prove flat denials, he returned with great indignation to the mercenaries."

Other relations state, that the ungrateful prince took occasion to upbraid him for his treatment of Rhys, adding that, "he scorned to bestow the hand of his daughter upon a renegade." The disappointed suitor, therefore, with his wonted impulsiveness, resolved to avenge in the most signal manner the slight put upon him; so, abruptly quitting the presence of Iestyn, and accompanied by his countryman, Cedrych, he went in pursuit of the Normans; and, according to one account, found upon reaching Penarth that "they had not yet embarked,

under pretence of being wind-bound;" but, according to a second and more particular account, that "they had just put off to sea." Fortunately for his purpose, the fleet of transports was still in sight; so stripping, it is said, his mantle from his shoulders, and hoisting it high into the air on the point of his lance, he hoped thus to attract their attention. In that hope he was not disappointed. His Norman friends both saw and understood his signal, and put about for the land again. On Fitz-Aymon and his brethren stepping ashore, Einion "grievously complained unto them of Iestyn's ungrateful dealings with him; and in conclusion persuaded them not to forego the country by them gotten, being theirs by just reward of victory." An argument such as this, even if made to the least sordid of mankind, could hardly fail of producing the effect desired by its author; but when offered to a company of adventurous knights, avowedly in quest of pelf, it was quite irresistible; it gratified their martial conceit, as well as their meaner passions. No wonder, therefore, as it is recorded in an ancient chronicle, "Sir Robert and his men heard all this gladly!" If, as before remarked, the Normans really designed from the first subjugating the country which they had been invited to defend, but had foregone that intention for the want of decent pretext, Dame Fortune herself may now be supposed to have sanctioned their scheme, and to have given them that opportunity of effecting it, which apparently they had neither the power nor the wisdom to create for themselves.

They elected, therefore, to avenge the indignity offered to their old companion in arms, and the alacrity with which they set about it evinces that they fully realized the magnificent prospect before them. Accompanied by Einion, who thenceforward earned for himself the perpetual and unenviable addition to his name of *y bradwr*, "the traitor," and Cedrych, the son of Gwaethvoed, the Cardiganshire chieftain, with his contingent, the Normans marched at once upon the castle or fortress of Dinas Powys, a few miles only west of Penarth, which

they surprised, putting the garrison to the sword. By this primary act they obtained a base for their future operations. Iestyn, when apprised of the treachery of Einion and the loss of his fortress, appears to have retraced his steps to Cardiff, the seat of his government and his principal stronghold. His only hope of defeating the sudden and formidable conspiracy that now threatened him necessarily depended upon the promptitude and loyalty of his people. But at this juncture of his fortunes we have no sure guide to direct us. His personal history from henceforward to the close of his life has been so variously reported by contemporary and later writers as to leave every passage in it open to doubt and disputation. It is very difficult, if not impossible, to harmonize so many conflicting accounts concerning him, and to determine which of the series is best entitled to our credit. All without exception are partial, and abound with improbabilities. If, on the one hand, we are disposed to adopt the assertion that the reign of Iestyn was characterized by habitual injustice and cruelty, and that he had therefore incurred the displeasure and hatred of his countrymen and subjects, a fitting end for so despicable a ruler is presented to our notice; whilst if, on the other, we are prepared to vindicate his memory from such wholesale aspersions, and to moralize on the instability of earthly grandeur, even in the person of a brave, humane, and liberal prince, there is no lack of authorities to support this more charitable view of his conduct. Whether he fell on the battle-field, gallantly defending his own and his people's rights, or whether he survived his defeat and ended his days in monastic seclusion, are questions which cannot, in this late age, be determined with absolute certainty. The whole sum of our knowledge is—that he lost both his crown and territory.

Rice Meyrick, who flourished nearly five centuries after the events just related, industriously collected all the traditions then current in the country, and, after weighing each, was inclined to adopt the following as the most truthful of them :—

"Others report (says he) that Sir Robert Fitz-Aymon, from the time he was first retained by Ienan, trusted to aspire to some seignory, or dominion in Wales, in hopes of the dissension bruited to be among the princes and great lords thereof; which carrieth a great likelihood of truth, as well for that other captains, with powers out of England, at that instant entered in North Wales, as also Sir Bernard Newmarke and other captains, after the slaughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr subduing Brychynog, of the Englishmen called Brecknock; wherefore passing through Glamorgan, the pleasant [nature] of the soil, which abounded with wide fields, [rich] pastures, deep moors, sweet meadows, good rivers, wholesome springs, great shadowing woods, and wanting nothing to supply the necessity of man, so pleased and delighted the eyes of Robert Fitz-Aymon and his complices, that they coveted to plant themselves, and to make seats for them and their posterity therein, according to the poet:—

'ffor now that soyle contents mee more
Than all my country rayne.'

And the greediness of the sovereignty and dominion allured Fitz-Aymon to imagine how to satisfy his ambitious thoughts, which, to compass according to his device, he well perceived could not be, unless Iestyn, lord thereof, were bereft of his life: wherefore his death was contrived, devising to pick a quarrel against him, such as pleased the uncontrolled executioners to feign, that their doings might have some pretext, or countenance of cause, lest if without any colour they should kill him whom they came to support, their fact should be abhorred and detested. The rather to satisfy their wicked pretensions in committing their facinerous act, they were allured by the opportunity of time and place, which aptly served thereto; for they weighed that they might accomplish it without any great assistance, because Iestyn was unprovided of force to repulse them, who not suspecting their fidelity had dismissed his power. Also, that the aid and assistance of his neighbours, in countries bordering upon his, was not to be feared, for they knew well that the Breconians had their hands full, and that the power of Deheubarth was so daunted on the former conflict between Iestyn and Rhys ap Tewdwr, that their malice so freely boiled in their stomachs, that rather they would rejoice at his suppression (thinking themselves thereby well avenged), than attempt to rescue him, or once to lament his case. Moreover, if they achieved their pretenced enterprise, it would be grateful to King William Rufus, their master, to subdue such a seignory to his obeyance; and thereby assured of the king's aid and succour, if need did require, to establish and govern the same: which opportunities they took,

instead of occasion and title, to broach forth their pretended conspiracy. And lest this wicked device might be suspected and known, and by that means their deceitful policy dasht out of countenance, they determined to detract no time, but according to the old adage, *beat the iron while it was hot:* wherefore, finding Iestyn accompanied only with few of his mean lords and his menial servants, they assailed him, in which assault he was killed, and such as were in his company; whose power and authority afterward in bearing rule and sway, suppressed the infamy of their fact."

Such is Meyrick's circumstantial account of the conspiracy which resulted in the overthrow of Iestyn. In drawing it up he was evidently more intent upon exposing the base motives by which the Norman mercenaries were actuated throughout, than upon determining the ultimate fate of their victim. It might be inferred, from the extreme vagueness of his language, with regard to the last-mentioned particular, that the prince fell, or rather was butchered in cold blood. If such was really his opinion, it is strange that he should have made no allusion whatever to the traditions then and still current in the country, and which are supported moreover by the testimony of many ancient records, that Iestyn (in perfect consistency with his universally acknowledged character for decision and courage) made one signal effort at least to preserve his dignity and kingdom. The spot where he made this final but ineffectual attempt is pointed out to this day in the immediate vicinity of Cardiff.

Among other records, the relation of this fact is contained in the "Genealogy of the Kings of Glamorgan," (*Iolo MSS.*) The author of this very ancient compilation, whoever he was, was greatly inimical to Iestyn, for he cannot refrain, whenever mentioning the name of that unfortunate prince, from coupling with it some harsh epithet significant of his unconquerable hatred of him; and therefore was the less likely to supplement his genealogical history with anything redounding to his credit. In reference to the sudden return of the Nor-

mans, he relates that, before commencing hostilities against him, they "expostulated with Iestyn on his conduct to Einion, but he behaved with great arrogance, and scornful pride; so the contention ended in war, and a severe conflict took place adjacent to Cardiff, on Mynydd Bychan (the Great Heath), where Iestyn was vanquished." And by way of additional proof, were it needed, of the truthfulness of this account, the author next proceeds to relate a curious stratagem to which Fitz-Aymon resorted with the view of husbanding his resources for the final accomplishment of his purpose:—

"But the Normans (says he) so marshalled their combined army, that Cedrych was placed foremost in battle, until more than half of his men fell; consequently, Sir Robert found himself at the head of a more numerous force than the remaining troops of Einion, Cedrych, and other Cambrian chiefs on their side; so he got the upper hand of the country, and thus became enabled to select as he pleased."

Whether Iestyn fell or not in this single but decisive encounter with the Normans and their unnatural allies on Mynydd Bychan, is, as before remarked, a very doubtful question. Whilst some affirm that he expired with the independence of his nation, others as confidently maintain that he survived his defeat; and, "quitting his castle and country, he embarked himself, wife, and youngest children for sea, and took sanctuary at St. Austin's Back, Bristol;" whence a few years later, under a feigned name, he removed to Keynsham Abbey, in Somersetshire (which he had endowed with lands and property in Gwentlwg), where he passed the remainder of his days in peaceful meditation. There, too, he was buried; and according to report, his monument was to be seen in the time of Queen Elizabeth. It is further related of him, that in his seclusion he was always attended by one faithful friend—his domestic bard; who was wont to relieve his master's drooping spirits by singing to him the national songs, accompanied by the national instrument, of the Cymry. In "The Genealogy

of the Kings of Glamorgan," above referred to, Iestyn is recorded to have attained the patriarchal age of one hundred and eleven years; and it is added, that he was "the Prince of the most numerous descendants that ever existed in Wales: He lived to see a great-grandson, and a great-great-grandson as kings [*i. e.*, exercising royal authority in their respective lordships]; which no man ever saw before him." Of a man who was as remarkable for his misfortunes as for his years, it may be truly said in the words of the heathen poet,—

"..... Ultima semper
Expectanda diis homini est, dicique beatus
Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet."

After the defeat and retirement of Iestyn ap Gwrgan, who was the last of the native sovereign princes of Glamorgan, the victorious Normans were left in almost undisputed possession of his vast and magnificent territories, extending from the urban limits of Gloucester (the Forest of Dean included) to the eastern bank of the little stream of Dulas, which separates the present counties of Caermarthen and Glamorgan. The richest portion of the country, namely, the *bro*, or "the Vale," lay before them with scarcely an enemy to oppose their further progress of settlement in it. The inhabitants, no class excepted, were overwhelmed with dismay and consternation by the completeness and suddenness of the calamity which had befallen their fugitive lord. Instead of combining for the purpose of resisting the invader, and making an effort, at least, for the preservation of their hearths and liberties, the chief of them followed his example, and fled precipitately with their wives and families to the Blaenau, or "mountainous district" in the north, and there buried themselves for a while in its deepest recesses. This pusillanimous conduct sealed their fate, and confirmed the good fortune of Sir Robert Fitz-Aymon. That knight, who is reported to have been as politic as he was valiant, used the precious time thus unadvisedly allowed him in consolidating his power

and in strengthening his position. He summoned fresh retainers from his baronies in Gloucestershire, and garrisoned the towns and all other strongholds between Cardiff in the east and Neath in the west. But his primary act was to despatch advices to his master and kinsman, William the Red, "signifying unto him his prosperous success and new-gotten sovereignty, and requesting his aid to stablish the governance thereof." The King not only granted his suit, by creating him "Prince of Glamorgan, with *jura regalia* in as ample a manner as the former lords enjoyed," but sent him also new supplies "with all speed."

As the news of Fitz-Aymon's success spread throughout the bordering counties of England, hundreds of ardent adventurers flocked to his standard—rumour, as usual, having magnified, truly great as it was, his fortunate achievement. These new-comers, like vultures scenting carrion from afar, were allured by the prodigious quantity of agricultural and household stuff which, being heedlessly abandoned by the affrighted owners in their headlong retreat, had fallen into the hands of the invader. The pillage of four considerable towns (Cardiff, Cowbridge, Lantwit, and Kenfig) besides numerous villages, dotted over many hundreds of square miles of a fairly cultivated territory, afforded him a rare opportunity of gratifying to the utmost the greed of his followers. Not one was disappointed of his hope. Whilst the lions were gorged, the least of the jackals was daintily feasted. So great, in fact, was the amount of the spoil that, apart from any motives of pity or prudence, the Norman leader was able to exhibit no little generosity towards the fallen. But, to do the conqueror justice, he was singularly free from those vices of malevolence and avarice which too frequently characterised the proceedings of his countrymen wherever they had succeeded in establishing their authority. Fitz-Aymon made partial restitution to those of the "gentry" who were submissive to his rule, or peaceably inclined towards

him. To men of lower degree and similarly affected he showed greater liberality, bestowing upon many of them much more than they possessed prior to his advent. He hoped by this unusual display of generosity not only to preserve the allegiance and goodwill of these people, but to win back others to their villages and domiciles, whom he concluded had fled to the mountains as much in terror of their chieftains as of himself.

(To be continued.)

PROPOSED MEETING OF THE CAMBRIAN INSTITUTE IN BRITTANY.

To the Rev. T. James (Llallawg), *General Secretary of the Cambrian Institute.*

Vaugirard, 18th May, 1865.

Rev. Sir,—The project of an international Celtic Congress in Brittany towards the close of the summer, or in the autumn of the present year, is entertained by all our friends with the greatest favour. Several distinguished *savants* of Paris have promised to meet together there, and we doubt not that a great number of our Welsh brethren, and especially a great many of your associates of the Cambrian Institute, will do us the honour of taking a part in our labours.

It will be most gratifying to us to realize the opportunity of renewing with them, at the foot of the monuments raised by our common ancestors, the ties of an old friendship, which, we trust, nothing will henceforth succeed to annihilate or break.

But before fixing definitely the time of our meeting, and organizing the preparations for it, we must have a President nominated, who will be able to attend, and undertake the management of its proceedings. The general desire of all those who propose to participate in the labours of the Congress, is to have at their head, during their sittings, the august President of the *Cam-*

brian Institute. All, *without distinction of political antecedents*, profess the highest admiration for the scientific attainments of the Prince, and feel very grateful to him for the interest he is pleased to take in Celtic studies. All would be happy and proud to have him for President —not only President of the Congress of 1865, but perpetual President, if it be possible; for they desire warmly that the tie which is about to be established between the Cymry of Wales, and the Bretons of Llydaw, may not be merely temporary, but permanent.

Could you, Rev. Sir, arrange that the *Cambrian Institute* should unite its entreaties with ours, in order to induce the Prince to do us the honour to accept the title and assume the functions of our President; and also, to prevail upon his Highness to use his powerful influence with the Minister of the Interior, that our Congress may not meet with obstacles on the part of the administration?

Be pleased, Rev. Sir, to accept the expression of my most respectful sentiments.

CHARLES DE GAULLE,
(*Bro-C'hall, Secretary to the Breuriez Breiz,*)
Grande Rue, 134, Vaugirard, Paris.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE CELTS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

To the Editor of the Cambrian Journal.

SIR,—It has been to me a source of much pleasure and pride to see a considerable portion of my Pamphlet on "The Celts of the Nineteenth Century," translated and published in the *Cambrian Journal*, and I feel very grateful to Mr. J. Davenport Mason for the trouble he has kindly taken in the matter, as well as for the many learned notes with which he has enriched my work. I understand very well his omission of certain passages relative to Ireland, and some others of an interest peculiar to Armorica. But I regret, however, the suppression of some paragraphs, without any political bearing, relative to the creation of a literary language common to all the fractions of the

great Celtic race (p. 49 of my pamphlet); to a call to a *moral* and *intellectual* union between the Celtic nations (pp. 51, 52); to a call to concord and reciprocal religious toleration (p. 53); to Welsh Colonization (p. 57); and to the discovery of America by the Irish (p. 60).

I regret still more that my intentions should have been misunderstood by the translator. I can assure you that there is nothing in the pages which I have written which can be fairly construed to imply that I advocate a political separation of the Scotch and the Welsh from the English, or of the Bretons from the French. This is not necessary for the preservation of the Celtic Languages and the Celtic spirit; and it would be absurd to believe that it would be possible. As regards Ireland the case is different; but while reserving to myself my private opinion upon this point, I have no intention of raising a discussion upon the question with the Celtic brethren. I believe that in our relations as Celts to Celts we ought to seek and adopt every means which would be calculated to unite us, and to avoid every thing which would have a tendency to divide us. However that may be, while recalling in my pamphlet the grievances of Ireland, I have not recommended in it a political separation from England. But I have confined myself to expressing a desire to see the disunion between the different classes of the population cease, and I have demanded that the Gaelic should be cultivated, and even that it should regain, if possible, the ground which it has lost.

There is an error also as to the religious part. What I stated (pp. 32, 33 of the translation) did not apply to the Protestant Celts, but to those persons, who in these latter days have violently assailed truths admitted equally by Catholics and Protestants.

There is one more particular to which I must allude. In my first letter in the *Cambrian Journal*, p. 2, I did not write, or only wrote by a *lapsus Calami*, "*Car* Bretoned tre-mor," which would mean in fact, "the friend of the Bretons beyond the sea," but "Bar Bretoned tre-mor," as they say in Breton: *eur bar*[1] *gwenan*, or *eunn hed gwenan* for a *swarm of bees*. Bar in this phrase is equivalent to *hed*; Cymraeg, haid; English, swarm. M. de la Villemarqué has translated the phrase, "Bar Bretoned tre-mor," "the swarm of Bretons beyond the sea."

I should be glad if you could find room for this note in the next number of the *Cambrian Journal*.

Permit me, Sir, to express my esteem and respect,

CHARLES DE GAULLE,
(*Barz Bro-C'hall, Secretary to the Breuriez Breiz,*)
Grande Rue, No. 134, Vaugirard, Paris.

[1] I think the error must have occurred through my small *b* having been taken for a capital *C*.—[There is no doubt that the writer is correct in his conjecture. The small *b* in "bar" in the original MS. is so like a capital *C* that it would be taken for it by an English eye. We gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity to rectify the error.—ED. CAMB. JOUR.]

PROPOSED MEETING OF THE CAMBRIAN INSTITUTE IN BRITTANY.

To the Editor of the Cambrian Journal.

Sir,—It affords me much pleasure to learn that you contemplate holding a meeting in Brittany of the Cambrian Institute in connection with the Breton Associations, and that our friends in Llydaw respond so cordially to the proposition. I think that such a meeting cannot fail to have an excellent effect both upon members individually on each side of the channel, and upon the collective Institutes, in stimulating and enlarging their minds, and in bringing about that support and assimilation of interests for the right doing of the great Celtic work.

That "vis unita" is "fortior" no one knows better than his Imperial Majesty, and I hope that the alliance of the Armorican and Cymric bodies may make up for the disintegration inflicted on the first by the decree of 1858—the same year by-the-bye—that witnessed the reverse of this in the Llangollen Eisteddfod. Let us be thankful for our lot!

I trust that the time of the congress will be determined with due regard to the convenience of our leading Cymric writers who wish to go over, and that the place selected for it will be easy of access to them, whilst the surrounding neighbourhood should possess a sufficient number of objects of archæological and historical value to be visited and examined. And I will crave permission respectfully to suggest that the attendance of as many *really national and learned* Welshmen as possible should be secured, otherwise I am afraid that the general interest of Celtic literature on both sides of the water will not be materially promoted by the projected gathering. The visit of mere *sight-seers* or *pretenders* to national feelings who care nothing about the language, literature, or antiquities of the country, would be of no benefit to our Breton brethren, nor would it confer any credit either upon Wales or upon the Institute.

And wherever the meeting shall be held—whether at Vannes or at some other place—it is highly desirable that the assembly should pay a visit to the Druidical Temple of Carnac, with the view of making most ample and perfect survey and measurement of that extraordinary structure. The height, breadth and thickness of every stone should be accurately taken, together with the distance of the stones from each other, &c., &c., &c. The exact distance of its site from the sea, whether there be any creek contiguous to it, or any river runs near it, and where such river enters into the sea, should be carefully ascertained; also whether the sea has encroached upon the land at its mouth. My impression is that the Phœnicians coasted the shores of Gaul and did not sail direct from Spain to Britain, and that the stupendous temple of Carnac owes its existence to them.

But Brittany abounds with Druidical vestiges, which, with Breton and Cymric affinities in physiognomy, ethnology, genealogy, philo-

logy, nationality, poetical and legendary literature, will form suitable subjects for inquiry and elucidation. And if Brittany should be found to be too contracted a district for excursions by the members of the congress, the province of Auvergue more inland, which is said to be, next to Armorica, the most interesting and fruitful Celtic ground, would furnish an extensive and ample field for researches.

Wishing every success to the proposed meeting in Brittany, at which I hope to have the opportunity to be present,

I remain, &c.,

A MEMBER.

[We promise our learned and patriotic correspondent that the valuable suggestions embodied in his letter shall have our best attention.—ED. CAMB. JOUR.]

EPITOME OF THE CIVIL WARS IN THE WEST OF ENGLAND,

INCLUDING THE PART TAKEN THEREIN BY THE SEVERAL SECTIONS OF THE BYAM FAMILY.

To the Editor of the Cambrian Journal.

SIR,—If I may be allowed, I will append to the Account of the Byam Family which appeared in the *Cambrian Journal* of 1862 (pp. 1–82) a few additional particulars in respect to one of its members who enjoyed the confidence and friendship of two successive monarchs of England, Charles I. and II., for the space of thirty years. For it appears by the Registers of Oxford, which I, by the favour of the late Dr. Bliss, the Registrar of that University, have personally examined, that it was at the express desire of King Charles I. that, after an interval of a like term from his taking his B.D. degree, Dr. Byam took his D.D. degree at Oxford, in January, 1642. The circumstances which led to such an event were the following. On the breaking out of the Civil Wars the two most prominent characters in the west, perhaps beyond all comparison, were Robert Blake and Henry Byam, who previous to the Marquis of Hertford taking the field in those parts may be accounted the rivals, if not the champions, on their respective sides: the former, afterwards the celebrated Admiral, then but a simple Captain, and soon afterwards a Colonel of Cavalry; and the latter Henry Byam, a learned and pious minister of the Gospel, who, according to the opinions of the times in which he lived, but more especially of those which immediately preceded them, thought it not incompatible with his sacred calling to draw the sword in defence of his Sovereign, whom (in conformity with the coronation service of our own time) he regarded as no other than "the Lord's anointed," and consequently invested with a character of peculiar sanctity, which made lawful and even commendable means that otherwise, in his case, would have been clearly indefensible. As already intimated by his contemporary, Dr. Ward, that he had means

for the indulgence in a bountiful, hospitable disposition, he was a man of property, having, besides his clerical preferment, estates in the several parishes of Luccomb, Porlock, and Stoke Pero; and all the power and influence he possessed, both lay and clerical, he used for the raising of a regiment of horse in defence of His Majesty, and placing all his sons, five in number, as officers therein—four in the capacity of captains commanding troops, and one, too young for such a command, as a subaltern. Their names severally were: *Captains of Horse*—William Byam (sometime of the Middle Temple, London); Henry Byam, "slain at sea," in the King's service; Francis Byam; John Byam, "slain in the King's service;" *Lieut. or Cornet*—Lawrence Byam; and all, with the exception of the last (born after date thereof), enumerated in the Heraldic Visitation of Somersetshire for 1623. But such extraordinary and powerful efforts could not but raise the ire of the opposite party as represented by Blake, in this western portion of the county; and determining on seizing the author of what he deemed so much mischief, he set off with his troop for the quiet and most romantic village of Luccomb, in the extreme west of the county, and there, in his own mansion and rectory, he actually seized (whether with or without the order of Parliament we know not) the beloved pastor of the parish and Justice of the Peace for this division of the county. The object attained, for want of a safe place of custody at Blake's disposal, or from some suchlike cause, Dr. Byam contrived to elude the vigilance of his guards, and escaped to the King, at this time at Oxford, by whom he was received with open arms, and, as already related, ordered to be created D.D., a degree for which he was every way so thoroughly qualified, and the highest it was in the power of the University to bestow. This, it may be remembered, was at the end of 1642 (Jan. 1642), or, according to our present mode of computation, at the beginning of 1643, a year most prolific of success for the Royal arms everywhere in the west, insomuch that the Marquis of Hertford coming down to these parts in the month of June, took possession of Bridgwater, Taunton, and Dunster Castle, with little or no resistance; whilst Lord Hopton, on the same side, had gained a signal victory at Liskeard, in Cornwall, and another at Stratton, in both which the Parliamentarians were completely defeated, as well as they were at Roundway Down, two miles from Devizes; and before the close of the year the Royalists were in possession of Bath, Bristol, Exeter, Barnstaple, Bideford, Dartmouth, &c., and all that remained to their adversaries were Plymouth, Poole, and Lyme. Taunton, however, soon after fell into the hands of the Parliamentarians, and under the direction of Blake, its energetic governor, was a continual thorn in the side of all the King's surrounding garrisons, insomuch as that, after a close inspection of facts, I feel myself warranted in asserting that he alone turned the tide of war in the west, and prepared the way for those signal defeats which a year or two later befell the Royal arms when assailed by the victorious legions of Fairfax and Cromwell. The

year 1644, says Echard, in his *History of England*, began under "very gloomy circumstances" in respect to the Royal cause; and after recounting many of which, and more especially the particulars of the battle of Marston Moor, observes that "the King (Charles I.) having now considered his own condition, and the danger of having himself and his heir any longer embarked 'in the same bottom,' sent the Prince (afterwards Charles II.) into the West, to perfect the association begun there at the end of last summer;" and that "on the 5th of March, 1644–5, the Prince set out for Bristol, accompanied by the Lord Culpepper and Sir Edward Hyde (afterwards Earl of Clarendon) as his principal counsellors, and some of the chief gentry of the west, who were of the greatest authority in those parts." Here Echard, after having given an account of the fatal battle of Naseby, in Northamptonshire, resumes his narrative of the affairs of the west, and recounting the particulars of the defeat of the King's forces under Lord Goring near Langport, in Somersetshire, proceeds to the relation of the siege of the neighbouring fortress of Bridgwater by the Parliamentarians of the re-modelled school, under the command of both Fairfax and Cromwell in person. This fortress, though not very favourably situated for defence, was by some thought to be "impregnable," and its governor, Edmund Wyndham, who had learnt the art of war in the Low Countries, assured the King "it was not to be taken." Summons of surrender was in due course of war made and repeated, with, at the same time, an offer of honourable and even favourable terms of capitulation, such as neighbouring garrisons of still greater importance shortly after gladly accepted, but was again and again rejected with the utmost disdain; and it is somewhere stated that Wyndham's wife, who had great power over her husband, was the cause of the unaccountable and unreasoning obstinacy in this case evinced. She was a very beautiful woman, said to be the most beautiful in England, the daughter of Hugh Pyne, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, and on the arrival of the first summons of surrender is said to have been perfectly frantic, and to have torn her dishevelled hair, and beat those breasts which she truly said had given suck to the heir of England's crown, having in fact been wet-nurse to Charles II., a circumstance from whence her husband with his contemporaries obtained the sobriquet of "Nurse Wyndham." But men like Fairfax and Cromwell were not to be diverted from their purpose by arts such as these, and since all fair and honourable terms had been disdainfully rejected, as their last resource they resolved on storming the fortress. Time was given for the departure of the women and children, permission of which it appears our heroine availed herself, equally with those of her sex less boastful, and Hugh Peters encouraging the men to the assault in his usual animated strain, one part of the town was captured whilst the other remained in the hands of its defenders, who, no way daunted by the disaster, set fire to the portion that had surrendered, called "Eastover," and consisting of "goodly buildings:" but the fire being extinguished, the last moiety

was reduced to the same extremity as the first, and compelled likewise to surrender. The victors now would no longer give the terms they had before so freely offered, and would grant nothing beyond "bare quarter," and for the garrison and non-combatants to be at the mercy and disposal of the Parliament. This was a conquest said to comprise "three great victories," and is perfectly gloated over by the writer of a Parliamentary pamphlet still extant, who sums up the spoils taken at what he calls this "great capture" in the following brief manner:—

"100 Officers; 2,000 Prisoners; 200 Malignant Priests [that is, Ministers of the Church of England]; 800 Horses; Money and Jewels valued at £100,000, with any number of Lords, Knights, and Colonels captured."

Another pamphlet, probably by the same writer, gives "a fuller Relation, with the terrible Storming of the town;" and Oldmixon, himself a native of Bridgwater, says, "The resistance the Royalists made had more of frenzy in it than courage."

Concerning the clergy here congregated to the extraordinary number of two hundred, a word must be said. They were assembled from the country around Bridgwater for a very considerable distance for safety, and the like may be said of the money and jewels above-mentioned: it was collected here for the same purpose, and was intended for the future support of themselves, their wives and children; so that thus cut off from their resources, and marched up, or conveyed in some cases by water, to the metropolis, their sufferings, no less than those of the combatants, were intense, and under which it was not long before most of them expired, and hardly any survived to the Restoration. Some of these cases I myself have inquired into and traced, but all I shall here add is, that they were truly pitiable and heartrending.

Among the combatants in this siege and succeeding capitulation, and included in the "100 Officers" first specified in the above list, was a nephew of Dr. Henry Byam, the son of his brother, the Rev. Edward Byam, sometime Vicar of Dulverton in Somerset, and Precentor of Cloyne in Ireland, by name William, at the time a Captain of Horse, but subsequently a Lieutenant-General and Governor of Surinam; of whom, as my own ancestor in a direct line, I have given a more particular account in my recent Memoir of the family, and shall consequently say nothing further here, save that he had another brother, John (likewise, of course, a nephew of the aforesaid Dr. Henry Byam) forming part of the same garrison of Bridgwater; but he died in the King's service a year before the surrender of the place, and his death appears in the parish register, with the addition to his name of *Vexillifer*, or "Ensign."[1] Fifty days after the surrender of

[1] Another brother, Lawrence, a Captain of Horse in the King's service in Ireland, surviving to the Restoration, was buried at St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, London, Nov. 22, 1663.

Bridgwater to the Parliament, Bristol, the second city in the kingdom, also fell into their hands. The loss of Bridgwater, says Echard, made "a strong impression" upon the King, and, says the same historian, "so terrified the city of Bath that it surrendered without any resistance on 29 July," 1645. But the surrender of Bristol, he says, still more affected His Majesty, and went nigh to the destruction of all his hopes; followed as it was likely to be, and speedily was, by the loss of South Wales and all the West of England. To all which sources of disappointment and mortification was to be added the crushing defeat which his forces, almost simultaneously, sustained at Naseby. The Clubmen, numbering some 5,000 or 6,000 men, and alike opposed to both parties in the war, were now encountered by Cromwell in the west, and defeated and dispersed. Dartmouth, which under Sir Hugh Pollard still held out for the King, was compelled to surrender; and Plymouth, besieged by his troops, was relieved: and so Fairfax, everywhere victorious, now pursued the remains of the Royal army under the command of the Prince of Wales, who, says Echard, "was reduced to the miserable alternative of marching for Pendennis Castle," in Cornwall; the sequel of which step we shall for a moment leave to fill up what yet remains to be related of military operations in the western counties. Sir Ralph, now Lord Hopton, the flower of chivalry and the adlatus of the Prince of Wales, finding it, says Echard, now in vain with his shattered army to make any further resistance, being summoned by Fairfax to disband, consented to it upon very honourable conditions, and returned to France. A compact body of men true to the last to the Royal cause, yet remained to be subdued, but these being encountered on the 21st of March, by Col. Morgan, at Donnington, near Stow-on-the-Wold, were completely routed; their commander, Lord Astley, facetiously observing to Col. Morgan, "You have now done your work and may go to play, unless you choose to fall out among yourselves."

But what may be thought to have put the finishing stroke to the King's disasters, and to have rendered his cause utterly hopeless, was the fall of Exeter, which surrendered on fair terms on the 13th of April, 1646; his Majesty on receipt of the news thereof privately withdrawing himself from Oxford on the 27th of the same month; and, continues the same author, "about the same time St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, Barnstaple in Devon, and the brave little garrison of Dunster Castle in Somerset, submitted to the fortunes of Exeter, thus leaving the whole of the western counties at the mercy of Parliament:" a climax, notwithstanding which something more is required to be said of the last mentioned place, the very last to surrender, viz., "the brave little garrison of Dunster Castle." Going back from Pendennis Castle, where we last left the heir of the Crown, the Prince of Wales, it may be remembered that his Royal Highness set out for Bristol on the 5th of March, 1644–5, by command of his royal father, which we apprehend was duly executed; but whether or no, certain it is that the order was speedily countermanded, and a fresh order

issued by Lord Digby, in his Majesty's name, signifying his royal pleasure that the Prince should stay at Dunster Castle, and encourage the levies begun to be raised the former summer: a station, it is to be noted, in close proximity with Luccomb, the home of Dr. Byam, who on the first breaking out of the war had been so successful in this way of raising troops, and which may have had much to do with this order for the disposal of his Highness's person; and hither, we have Lord Clarendon's authority (vol. ii. p. 368) for saying, he accordingly set out, and became the guest of the high-spirited governor of the Castle, Francis Wyndham, and wherein is an apartment still called "King Charles's room," but probably with greater propriety and strictness might be called "Prince Charles's room." Whilst here, we have proof of his visiting the neighbouring parishes, for in the Church accounts of Minehead we find the following singular entries:—

"A.D. 1645. Given the Ringers, in Beer, at several times the Prince and other great Men came to the Town, 14s.

"Paid the Prince's Footman, which he claimed as due to him, for his fee, 5s. 6d.

At this date, when the Prince and his partizans had full range of the district under consideration, but when at the same time Dunster Castle was perceived to be in great danger, the Rev. John Byam (sometimes called "Dr. John Byam"), Rector of Clotworthy, and brother of Dr. Henry Byam, of Luccomb, being on intimate terms with Francis Wyndham, the Governor of the Castle, wrote to his friend, exhorting him by every tie they mutually held sacred, and probably with hopes of speedy relief, to hold out to the uttermost; but which by the course of events, after date of the letter, being no longer appliable or practicable, the letter itself, on the taking of the Castle, fell into the hands of the captors, with Blake at their head, and they attributing the obstinacy of the defence in a great measure to the writer, issued an order for his immediate arrest and incarceration; whereupon John Byam was immediately arrested, and conveyed a close prisoner to Wells, being most barbarously treated on the road by an irritated soldiery. Walker in his "Sufferings of the Clergy" says that he left in writing an account of the outrageous treatment he experienced, but though in his time (1718) it was supposed to be still in existence, yet that he knew not where to apply for it. The fact was that at that time, 1718, this branch of the family, in all its male relations, was utterly destroyed, root and branch, and if such account as that we have alluded to was anywhere to be found, it must be found in the families with which his daughters intermarried, which were the Sydenhams, Periams, Balchs, or Peppins of Dulverton, or among strangers connected only by friendship with the family. But in the State Paper Office we find two very important documents relating to him, the one of a date less than two months after the surrender of Dunster Castle, viz., the 11th of June, 1646, from the Sequestrators of the county of Somerset, directed to the Sequestrators

of the Hundred of Wallaton and Freemanor (in which his property was situated), ordering, without any reserve whatever, the sequestration of all his estate; and the other five years later, viz., on the 5th of February, 1651, and signed "Henry Wiggle," certifying that preceding order had been duly executed: and under the oppresson of such accumulated wrongs the head of this part of the family, now seventy years of age, the Rev. John Byam, presently sunk, dying in 1653; and in his will, still preserved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, he dare not so much as make mention of his three sons, William, John, and Henry, for fear of drawing on their heads fresh and more personal persecutions; and these, with their posterity, as many more sons, bereaved of their parent and cut off from the resources they might naturally have expected to inherit, all perished and became extinct in the space of less than forty years; the last we learn of any of them being in respect to the year 1690, when a grandson, John Byam, died issueless at Ballasore, in the East Indies.

Having now traced the war to the surrender of Dunster Castle, with its episode and family concomitant, it is time we return to the Prince, whom, with his companions and attendants, we left at Pendennis, in Cornwall, ready to embark for any place beyond seas which afforded them the chance of an asylum, either temporary or permanent. For Echard informs us that he was not there with a view to other purpose than that of "quitting a cause which his presence could no longer uphold or assist." And here, he continues, he embarked with the Lords Capel and Culpepper, Sir Edward Hyde, and Dr. Byam, his Chaplain, on the 1st of March, and reached in safety Scilly, where one or more of those sermons of the Doctor's, printed in 1675, were preached before him; and twenty-three years after his embarkation with the Prince from Pendennis, in company with the Lords Capel, Culpepper, and Clarendon, the preacher, Dr. Byam, died and was was buried in the chancel of his parish church at Luccomb, on the 29th of June, 1669, Dr. Hamnet Ward (a relative, we believe, of the Bishop of Salisbury of the same name) preaching a most able and affecting funeral sermon on the occasion. And beside that meed of praise which his friends were entitled to expect at the hands of local historians, on account of his numerous and distinguished virtues, it remained to be seen if he should be deemed worthy of a record in the general history of his country, *i. e.*, in the History of England: a surmise, however, of his true position in the world which was more than justified by the event, for Archdeacon Echard in his *History of England*, under the head of 1669, the year in which, as aforesaid, he died, has included him in the list of the nine worthies or notables whose loss England had that year to mourn, or otherwise take account of. The nine are as follows:—

1. Henry King, Bishop of Chichester, who had a large share in the Polyglot Bible.

2. Henry Byam, of whom hereafter.

3. Samuel Clarke, a profound Oriental scholar, who, with Bishop King, had a large share in the Polyglot Bible.

4. George Bate, Physician both to Charles I. and Oliver Cromwell.

5. The Hon. Nathaniel Fines, second son of the Lord Sey.

6. Sergeant-at-Law John Wylde.

7. Mr. Prynne, M.P., author of nearly two hundred treatises of all sorts.

8. George Monk, the first Duke of Albemarle.

9. Henrietta Maria, Queen Consort of Charles I. and mother of Charles II.

But of him in the second place named we have, in vol. iii. p. 245, folio, London, 1718, the following more specific record:—

"The next person (after Bp. King) was Dr. Henry Byam, educated at Exeter College, Oxford, where he became one of the most brilliant ornaments of the University, and the most noted person there for his excellent, polite learning, and his admirable faculty of preaching: removing from thence he became minister of the two parishes of Luckham (Luccomb) and Selworthy in Somersetshire, where he became a dreadful sufferer in the Civil Wars, having four sons all Captains in the King's service. After a poor, obscure life, he was at the King's return restored to his livings, but met with no greater addition than to be made Prebendary of Wells and Canon of Exeter, though his worth and abilities were so conspicuous that, if it had not been for his exceeding modesty, he might certainly have been advanced to a good bishopric."

I am, &c.,

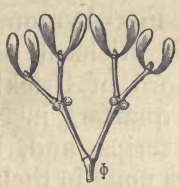
EDWARD S. BYAM.

Weston-super-Mare.

PENRHYN CASTLE.—The original building on this site is stated to have been founded by Rodri Molwynog, who was Prince of Wales in 720. It was rebuilt in the time of Henry VI. The present magnificent castle was commenced by Lord Penrhyn, and finished by his late successor, G. H. Dawkins Pennant, Esq., who was for years engaged in rebuilding the whole on an extended scale, so as to render it one of the most complete castellated mansions in the kingdom. It is erected of Mona marble, in the ancient style of architecture, with a splendid range of buildings, crowned with lofty towers, of which five are circular. The situation for such an edifice is unrivalled; it commands a full view of the varied and imposing scenery of the neighbourhood. The park is surrounded with a splendid wall, thirteen feet high and seven miles in circuit. There is an elegant private chapel in the castle for the accommodation of the family in the performance of religious services; and on the beach on the north-west side of the park there are handsome and commodious hot and cold baths.

THE

CAMBRIAN JOURNAL.

ALBAN  ARTHAN.

(WINTER SOLSTICE.)

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE NORMANS IN GLAMORGAN.

(Reprinted from the GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE, *by the generous permission of the Proprietor.*

(*Continued from p.* 197.)

CONSIDERING how few in number were the original invaders of Glamorgan, the share of each in the partition of the soil was almost unprecedented, even in that age of conquest. Both in extent and value it greatly exceeded that which had fallen to the lot of the most fortunate of their elder brethren, the conquerors of England. A single turn of the wheel of fortune lifted the companions of Fitz-Aymon from the depths of obscurity and poverty to the heights of power and riches. In the language of Thierry, the popular historian of their nation's marvellous progress, "they had each of them whole villages and vast domains, and from poor hirelings became, in the eye of posterity, the stock of a new race of nobles and powerful barons." At their coming into Wales ten out of the

twelve of these errant knights were in a more abject condition than their celebrated countryman, the first lord of Coningsby, whose flitting from his native state and alighting in England, with all his possessions, has been perpetuated in doggrel:—

> "William de Coningsby
> Came out of Brittany,
> With his wife, Tiffany,
> And his man, Manfras,
> And his dogge, Hardigras."

The mercenaries of Fitz-Aymon, with two exceptions only (his brother, Sir Richard de Granville, and Sir Payne Turberville, Lord of Crickhowel), issuing from the same unsatisfying quarters in Normandy, carried all their wealth in their scrips, and, being bachelors to a man, brought therefore none in their trains, save a couple of gentlemen or esquires each, who, if inferior to them in military rank, were their equals, and not improbably, in some instances, their superiors in birth and fortune. Even the luxury of possessing a dog seems to have been unknown to them; the fact, at all events, has not been noticed by contemporary chroniclers and bards, who have left little unsaid or unsung of those needy "red Normans" who, like a swarm of locusts, suddenly overspread the fairest portion of their country, and devoured everything in their passage.

There can be little doubt, notwithstanding the assertions of his enemies to the contrary, that Fitz-Aymon possessed, in an eminent degree, all the requisite qualifications, administrative as well as military, for regulating and maintaining his easily-acquired principality.

"He had gotten by experience (remarks Meyrick) a perfect habit, not only by his practice in martial affairs, but also by the establishment of the estate of England, after that famous conquest (by William Conqueror) lately achieved, whereby he attained not only profound understanding to use present fortune, but also providential foresight to withstand events and chances to come."

Meeting as yet with no armed resistance from the

inhabitants of the Vale, nor in immediate danger of being molested by the Welsh who had retreated to the hills, the conqueror proceeded to divide the soil in nearly equal proportions among his twelve companions in arms, or "peers" as he usually designated them, and to institute the feudal system of government as practised by his countrymen in England.

In the general partition of the richest portion of the territories (*i. e.*, the *bro*, or "Vale") of Iestyn ap Gwrgan, the conqueror reserved for himself, with all their rights and royalties as lately enjoyed by the dispossessed prince,—

"the Castle of Cardiff and its attached lands; the Castle of Kenfig and its estate; the royalties of Tîr Iarll (Earl's land) and Glynn Rhondda, with the manor of Cowbridge and its liberties; also the manors of Baverton and Lantwit Major, with their liberties; the two last-mentioned manor-towns being appropriated for the corn and dairy of the splendid mansion that he had at Baverton, where he usually resided and held his courts in summer."—*Iolo MSS.*

To his twelve companions[1] in arms Fitz-Aymon distributed lordships and manors in the following order:—

1. To Sir William de Landres the lordship of Ogmore and manor of Corntown.
2. To Sir Richard de Granville (a younger brother of Fitz-Aymon) the castle and lordship of Neath.
3. To Sir Pagan (or Payne) Turberville the lordship of Coity with the manors of Old Castle and Court Colman.
4. To Sir Robert St. Quintin the lordship of Llanblethian.
5. To Sir Richard Siward the lordship of Talavan, or San Tathan, and the manor of Merthyr Mawr.
6. To Sir Gilbert Umfraville the lordship of Penmark and manor of Cwmkidy.
7. To Sir Ranould de Sully the lordship of Sully and manors of St. Andrews and Denyspowis.

[1] For an Account of the thirteen Knights who came to Glamorgan in the time of Iestyn, son of Gwrgant, see the *Cambrian Journal* for 1860, pp. 22–34.—Ed. Camb. Jour.

8. To Sir Roger de Berkerolles (or Berkeley) the manors of East Orchard and Lamphey.

9. To Sir Peter le Sieur the manor of St. Fagan's with the castle of Peterstone-super-Ely.

10. To Sir John le Fleming the lordship of Wenvoe with the castle and manor of St. George's.

11. To Sir Oliver St. John the castle and lordship of Fonmon, and manors of Lancadle and Porthkerry.

12. To Sir William l'Esterling (*alias* Stradling) the lordship of St. Donat's and the manors of Colwinstone and Llanmaes.

Upon what principle these several lordships and manors were distributed is not very clear. It is reported by Meyrick that Sir Richard Granville, brother to the conqueror, had great possessions both in Normandy and England, and that, "he was a very valiant knight, as the Register of Neath testifieth, for that he was placed in the the utmost bounds of the Seignory of Glamorgan and Morganwg, even in the mouths of his enemies." The disposition of Sir Richard appears, therefore to have been an act of settled policy on the part of the conqueror. Unlike the majority of his compeers, Sir Richard was no needy adventurer, and his military genius rather than his necessities determined his present fortune. With the Lord of Crickhowel, Sir Payne Turberville, it seems to have been otherwise. A most remarkable, indeed a most romantic story is reported of him.

"After eleven of the knights (says Sir Edward Mansell[2]) had been endowed with lands for their service, Pain Turbervil asked Sir Robert [Fitz-Aymon] where was his share? To which Sir Robert answered, 'Here are men, and here are arms; go, get it where you can.' So Pain Turbervil with the men went to Coity, and sent to Morgan [the son of Meyryg, the grandson of Iestyn ap Gwrgan], the Welsh lord, a messenger to ask if he would yield up the castle. Upon this Morgan brought out his daughter, Sara [Assar], in his hand, and passing through the army with his sword in his right hand, came to Pain Turbervil

[2] From "The Winning of Glamorgan," a MS. of the sixteenth century, formerly in the possession of Taliesin Williams (ab Iolo), and now in the library at Llanover, Monmouthshire.

and told him, if he would marry his daughter, and so come like an honest man into his castle, that he would yield it to him quickly; and if not (said he), let not the blood of any of our men be lost, but let this sword and arm of mine, and those of yours, decide who shall call this castle his own. Upon this Pain Turbervil drew his sword, and took it by the blade in his left hand and gave it to Morgan, and with his right hand embraced the daughter, and, after settling every matter to the liking of both sides, he went with her to church and married her, and so came to the lordship by true right of possession, and being so counselled by Morgan, kept in his castle two thousand of the best of his Welsh soldiers."

Such is the romantic tale of the entry of this Norman knight into the first lordship in the Vale of Glamorgan. After the lapse of so many centuries it is now impossible to authenticate it. It must be admitted, however, that the Welsh had some reason for exaggerating on this head. "The Royal Lineage of Coetty," as it is styled in the ancient documents contained in the *Iolo MSS.*, was the last to exercise sovereign authority in South Wales, and native bards and chroniclers were wont to dwell, with a melancholy satisfaction, upon the final glories of a British "kingdom" which survived to the age of the Tudors. They considered it unjust "to call the Turberville a knight of spoliation," seeing that he acquired his "royal" dignity and possessions "by heirship;" and, as will be presently seen, Sir Payne was no less eager to support this character and right than the most ardent and patriotic of Welshmen could desire. He had the wisdom and prudence to cast in his fortunes with the friends and vassals of his father-in-law, and to thoroughly identify himself with their cause. Hence the reason of his popularity in the country, and the numerous arguments to support his own and posterity's extravagant pretensions.

Most probably the other adventurers, as in the instance of Sir Richard Granville, were placed according to the pleasure or will of the conqueror. Be that as it may, from their first footing in the land all experienced more or less difficulty in maintaining themselves in their re-

spective manors or lordships. Thus, Sir Robert St. Quintin, who settled in Llanblethian, and then built himself a castle (the ruins of which are still considerable), refusing to follow the example of his brethren, by granting lands to the Welsh in frankpledge, was thrice besieged, and had his walls knocked about his ears.

"He new builded the Castle of Llanblethian (says Mansell) three times, and at the last time made it but little to what it had been before, saying, it was men with strong hearts he wanted, for he had found castles with strong walls of no service against the Welsh. For he had builded the castle very large and strongly walled two times, and it was beaten to pieces by the Welshmen of the mountains."

But before relating in greater detail the opposition, spasmodic or general, which the conqueror and his fellows encountered, according as the weight of their yoke was felt in various districts by the inhabitants, let us take a nearer view of that part of the country in which the Normans have found so pleasant a resting-place. All their manors and lordships lay within the limits of the Vale, which was then as now as highly distinguished for the fertility of its soil as for the salubrity of its climate. In these respects it was unsurpassed by any district in the Principality. From the days of the Conqueror to those of Queen Elizabeth it had undergone, most probably, few if any changes, either in its outward aspect or in the system of cultivation pursued there. Nature had strewed her gifts thereabouts with a lavish hand. Beyond the labours of sowing and reaping there was little for man to do in order to secure her blessings. In the immediate vicinity, too, among the hills which formed an impregnable rampart to this secluded garden, limestone and coal abounded. Whether the value of the former was known may be doubted, but the latter had been economized from time immemorial. The wildest race of men, looking down upon the spot from the surrounding heights, would be instantaneously struck with its wealth and repose. Rude, in comparison with the denizens of the Vale, as were the Normans, they were not insensible of

the least particular of the good fortune which had befallen them. Nomadic propensities had not destroyed their notions of the value of a settled life or of ease. Their wanderings from Germany to the northern coasts of France, and from thence to England and Wales, were actuated as much by the desire of a commodious location as by the love of adventure. As in the flow of the tide every following wave marks the gradual advance of the mass of water, so each succeeding family of adventurers retained its foothold on the soil whither their instincts or their interests carried them, the one acting as pioneers to the other. There was no receding from a position once occupied, no ebbing in their tide of emigration: where they settled, there in time they were slowly but surely absorbed—sucked in by the nations whom they had invaded and mastered.

The Vale is thus clearly portrayed by Meyrick, who flourished in the sixteenth century; his description, in the main, holds good to this day.

"This part of the country (he writes) was always renowned as well for the fertility of the soil, and the abundance of all things serving to the necessity or pleasure of man, as alsoe for the temperature and holesomnes of the ayre; and was a champyon or open country, without great store of enclosures. For in my time old men reported that they remembered in their youth that cattell in somer time, for wante of shade, to have from the portway [or mouth of the Taff?] runne to Barry, which is four miles distant, whose fforefathers told them, that great part of the enclosures was made in their dayes. This, for the most part, was a playne even soyle, saving low swelling hills, rysing in respect of the low bottoms or vales, where rivers runn in, wherewith it is well replenished; whiche rivers plentie of deepe moores do compasse, and neere towardes the playnes pleasaunt meadowes and pastures; the playnes fruitful and apt for tillage, bearing abundance of all kind of grayne, replenished with great store of cold and sweet springes."

Such was the fruitful country which the Normans despoiled of its original possessors, and ruled with unabated power for a period of three centuries and upwards. In dealing with Einion ap Collwyn, to whose vindictiveness

and treachery they owed their easy entrance into it, Fitz-Aymon, according to the ancient Welsh proverb, allotted "the menial's share of the dainty chicken," (*rhan y gwas o gig y iar*). He gave him in marriage Nest, the youngest daughter of the unfortunate Iestyn, and with her, by way of dowry, the small lordships of Senghenydd (Caerphilly) and Meisgwn (Miskin). If by thus placing the *bradwr* so near to himself, and on the extreme eastern limit of his seignory, and consequently apart from his fellow-countrymen, the Norman conqueror hoped to bridle the disloyal propensities of his neighbour, such policy succeeded, at least for a season. Throughout the remainder of his life Einion not only proved faithful to his new lord, but likewise the best friend of those who persistently withheld their allegiance from him, and who, by their incursions and robberies, kept the country in a perpetual state of disorder and alarm. But after his death the succeeding lords of Senghenydd and Miskin, insignificant as were their respective territories, became the sharpest thorns in the sides of the foreigners. For many years they maintained a predatory warfare, which for its fierceness and obstinacy had no parallel, even in that sanguinary age, along the whole course of the marches.

It was a much more difficult task to conciliate the good-will of Iestyn's four sons, and to satisfy their demands, than to provide a husband and a portion for their sister. At first they severally bid the conqueror defiance. Caradog, the eldest of them, not only assumed, but pretended to exercise, all the titles and prerogatives of his exiled father. He persistently refused to recognise, much less pay any kind of homage to, the usurper of his territories, and enjoined his countrymen to follow his example. Nevertheless it would seem that Fitz-Aymon, in his repartition of the soil, allotted a portion to Caradog: it comprised the small and sterile tract lying between the rivers Nedd and Avan; there, when he had lost all hope of expelling the hated foreigner from his country, the eldest son of Iestyn established himself, and

in due time founded the town of Aberavon ("mouth of Avon"), to the inhabitants of which he granted certain lands and municipal privileges. Some ancient writers affirm that his "principality," or seignory, including the lordship of Margam, extended from the eastern bank of the Nedd to the western bank of Ogmore, one hundred and fifty square miles at least, and which, it is added, was confirmed to him by Sir Richard Granville *pro bono pacis*. This account, however, is very questionable, for within a comparatively few years later (and probably during the lifetime of Caradog) the Abbey of Margam was founded, and a body of Cistercian monks established there by Robert Consul, Earl of Gloucester, and son-in-law of Fitz-Aymon, in whom that lordship was then undoubtedly vested in right of his wife.

After a while the younger sons of Iestyn appear to have reconciled themselves to the altered circumstances of the country; they, like their brother, accepted such pittances of land as the generosity or the prudence of the conqueror prompted him to offer them. Upon Madoc he conferred the lordship of Ruthin; upon Rhys the lordship of Solven; and upon Howel the lordship of Llantrithyd. In these several dispositions Fitz-Aymon's judicious policy is again perceptible, for all the lordships in question lay immediately under the eye of his "valiant" brother, whose peace and forbearance at times, judging from incidental expressions contained in contemporary chronicles and documents, frequently quoted in a later age, must have been sorely invaded and tried. Thus, it is recorded that certain lands contiguous to the town of Neath, the seat of Sir Richard Granville's government, were conceded by him to his restless neighbour Rhys, and on the usual terms, namely, *pro bono pacis*. It is likewise related, in the *Iolo MSS.*, that his brother Howel had a son named Cynfrig, "who was the bravest of all in his time, and he led the Welsh against the French, whom he repressed, preserving his property and power in defiance of Sir Robert Fitz-Aymon's forces." This statement must be received

with some degree of qualification. That Cynfrig, following the example of other ousted Welsh chieftains, let slip no opportunity of molesting or "defying" the Norman adventurers, particularly in their attempt to introduce the feudal system into the Vale, is likely enough, but that he or any of his compatriots succeeded in "repressing," much less in gaining any permanent advantage over them, is very questionable. At no period during the struggle for the pre-eminency were the invaders less numerous than those opposed to them in the field. As was the case when the Romans under Plautius and Vespasian set foot on the island, it was torn asunder by intestine commotions; prince was arrayed against prince, and sept against sept, and all were in consequence overwhelmed in detail; so now, the most powerful of the chieftains were divided, some adhering to the Normans who had dealt liberally by them, and others, less fortunate than their neighbours when a general distribution of the spoil was made, stood aloof, preferring (as they boasted) the loss of property and the inconveniences of exile to the shame of compliance and the reward of treason.

"And although (says Meyrick) at the beginning messengers were sent to them offering conditions of peace, yet malice and rancour so boyled in their stomachs that they would not hear thereof, thinking it more honest to die by dint of sword, than to suffer their lord's death unavenged; saying, that they would never prefer the hope of a bloody reward before their truth and fidelity to their lord; reviling all such of their nation to whom the conqueror had shewed his clemency, or extended his liberality, thinking it better to continue their misfortune than to be the partakers of their wicked felicity."

Their ancient retainers respectively, in larger or smaller bodies according to the caprice of the moment or the prospect of success, rushed down from their strongholds in the mountains and ravaged, almost with impunity, the outstanding posts of the new settlers and their allies. To hold in check such impetuous reclaimers as these the conqueror occasionally brought fresh troops into the country, not only from his lordships in Glouces-

tershire but also from Corbeil, his seignory in Normandy; the last-mentioned were "the French" to whom special reference is made in the Iolo Papers.

Fitz-Aymon, after vainly attempting to propitiate the disaffected, as well as to dislodge them from their strongholds in the Blaenau, "where nothing was to be gotten but cold, hunger, and blows," resolved "to fence the frontiers of the low country next towards the mountains, and to leave off invading of them," persuading himself that if he could keep the Welshmen "from getting of preys and booties from the low country, necessity would constrain them to yield for want of sustenance." To this resolution Glamorganshire owes those many castellated structures which still excite the admiration of the beholder quite as much as they did that of old Churchyarde, the poet, in the days of Elizabeth:—

> "Behold but Wales, and note the castles there,
> And you shall find noe such workes anywhere;
> Soe old, soe strong, soe costly, and soe hye,
> Not under Sunne is to bee seen with eye."

The conqueror required that each of his knights should erect one strong fortress at least upon his lordship, more particularly on that portion of it which bordered upon the mountains. He set the example himself by strengthening the Castle of Cardiff; some say that he wholly rebuilt it: but be that as it may, his example was quickly followed, as well by his knights as by their principal freemen, and in a short while after a chain of fortresses more or less strong, some being composed of wood and others of stone, distinctly marked the respective limits of the Norman and Welsh districts. On Fitz-Aymon's reservation alone were erected no less than eighteen of these fortified defences. Each of his twelve co-adventurers built one at least for his own occupation, and some of them as many as three. Such of the Welsh franklins who had made their peace with the invaders did the same. And as an additional security against the surprises of the mountaineers, Fitz-Aymon allotted to the more humble of his followers and dependents small

parcels of land in the immediate vicinity of all villages and military stations; on these were constructed "bulwarks and rampires," or stockades, wherein they inclosed their cattle by night. "He bestowed (says Meyrick) trusty garrisons in towns to the defence thereof; every man possessing his allotment had in charge to defend his limits, and also to shew ready assistance to his companions." By these means the subjugation of the low country was completely effected.

But the conqueror himself did not live to witness the consummation of his policy. To the last hour of his life it was his misfortune to hear of "invasions, rades, incursions, and skirmishes, as well by day as by night," being made and waged by his impulsive neighbours "the Glamorganians, who hated and envyed him." Yet notwithstanding all this continuous and violent opposition to his presence and rule, he seems never to have despaired of ultimate success, or to have relaxed his efforts to redeem the value of the soil as well as the people of the country. He strictly enjoined all his vassals to bring as much land as possible under cultivation, and furthermore instructed them how to "manure" it. This last-mentioned fact alone testifies to his singular liberality and wisdom, and shows how very far in advance he was of his countrymen in the sister kingdom, the vast majority of whom preferred the fleeting honours of warfare to the more durable gains of peace. Fitz-Aymon took no pleasure in destroying the vestiges of civilized life, and in reducing a garden into a wilderness. He was no barbarian; on the contrary, his proceedings were uniformly characterized by prudence and magnanimity, and his political discernment was only equalled by his habitual clemency. It is reported of him,—

"that to such of the Glamorganians as were taken prisoners, whom the conqueror entrusted to incline unto him, he not only gave life and liberty, but also restored to greater livings than they possessed before; trusting thereby as well to allure others that meant to resist him to offer submission, as in sure friendship to knit them by his benefits."

We nowhere read either of himself or of any of his followers practising those wanton cruelties so vividly depicted in the Saxon Chronicle, and which disgraced the national character of the Normans elsewhere. Their whole policy in Glamorgan was one of conciliation and forethought; they studied as well to win the affections as to improve the condition of its people; they had as deep a reverence for human life as for ecclesiastical structures—they spared both. The church of Llandaff, the mother church of the country, was a special object of veneration with them.

No doubt all opposition to the Norman rule would have speedily ceased but for the attempted total abrogation of the ancient usages and laws of the land, and the substitution of the feudal system as practised in England. This change was as obstinately resented by the one people as persisted in by the other. The Welsh of the Vale were quite willing to transfer their allegiance to a new master, and to pay him that obedience which their own laws provided for; such a proceeding was by no means uncommon with them; but when required to take the oath of fealty, both to the conqueror residing among them, and to the conqueror's lord, of whom they knew nothing but by report, they could see no end of the services likely to be demanded of them. This was not only to submit their necks to a double yoke, but to forego that personal freedom which, notwithstanding the occasional tyrannies of former princes, they and their fathers had enjoyed and gloried in from time immemorial. For the Welsh held not their lands as fiefs, but as *allodia*, that is, in absolute dominion, without rendering any service, excepting military, to a superior. Unlike their Anglo-Norman neighbours, they recognised no mesne lords: they were all vassals of equal standing. Every attempt, therefore, to coerce them in this particular was obstinately resisted—resisted as well by those who had temporarily withdrawn themselves from their heritage and prolonged the territorial strife, as by those who had remained behind, or had been bribed to return, and were

not indisposed to live amicably on the old recognised footing with the invaders. This was the sole bond of union between the several classes of Welshmen. Self-interest had broken asunder in a few months all other ties. How long the contest would have lasted, where the disputants were equally stubborn and equally balanced, it is useless to speculate. By the defection of one of the Norman knights from his own people, and by his coalescing with the Welsh, the latter were confirmed in their determined resistance, and prosecuted the controversy with increased vigour and proportionate hopes of success; nor were they destined to disappointment.

The Norman knights held their lands of Fitz-Aymon by tenure of castle-guard, and did garrison duty at Cardiff by turns. There also the courts of chancery and exchequer were held quarterly, in which all the twelve knights presided or sat as assessors with their lord. For their special convenience, as much as for the defence of his person, Fitz-Aymon had provided certain "houses in the utter ward of his castle," where the knights and their retainers on duty were lodged. Sir Payne Turberville, the owner of Coity, determining to hold his lands in free tenure, according to the custom of his adopted countrymen, protested against this military service, and being backed in his opposition by his brothers-in-law Caradog and Madoc, the sons of Iestyn, suddenly cast off his allegiance to the conqueror and transferred it to the former, to whom also he agreed to pay an annual tribute of a noble in acknowledgment of his right to the dominion of Glamorgan. This act of insurrection was perpetrated in the year 1094. The time selected by the insurgents was most opportune. The Norman knights, with the chief of their followers, were actively engaged in pushing their conquests to the west of Neath, in the district of Gower. Taken at this disadvantage, Fitz-Aymon was fain to affect compliance with the extravagant demands of his rebellious feudatory. But this temporary expedient was not resorted to until a most formidable insurrection had been stirred up in the Vale, and several of his castles had

been besieged and the garrisons put to the sword. As a matter of course, the mountaineers burst their barriers and participated in the strife. For the part he played in these audacious transactions, the Lord of Coity obtained among his indignant countrymen the most unenviable of distinctions, or, as it is quaintly announced by old John Leland in his "Laborious Journey and Search," "he was caullid for his ruffeling there *Diable.*" And when he died, about the year 1111, an inscription was carved on his monument to the effect that he was to expiate his crimes in purgatory for the space of forty days. This monument (or rather the remains of it) bearing the above strange inscription, as well as the effigies of the "ruffeling" knight and his lady in marble, was dug up about half a century ago in the chancel of the church at Coity. It is still preserved there.

Some few years subsequently to this first great outbreak, and at a time when King Henry I. was the guest of Fitz-Aymon at Cardiff, the latter conceived the idea of once more summoning his powerful adversary to take the oath of fealty to him, and to do homage for his lordship; but this demand (relates Sir Edward Mansell) again—

"caused discontent, insomuch that the Welsh lords took arms under Payne Turberville and Caradog ap Iestyn, and Madoc his brother; and they came to Cardiff Castle and surrounded it, insomuch that it was upon the point of being taken, when King Henry going to the top of the Raven tower to enquire concerning the tumult which was heard, he saw the place all encompassed by fierce armed men; whereupon he called a parley, when Payne Turberville told him the reason, saying, if rightful orders were not made to restore the laws of Morgan the First, he (the King) and Robert Fitz-Aymon should feel at the ears very soon of what stuff the castle walls were. At the hearing of which all in the castle consulted together, and it was seen best to yield to the country that request."

Some accounts add that, in the *mêlée* preceding this parley, Fitz-Aymon was struck on the head by a stone, from the effects of which blow he subsequently lost his reason, and in that state died. But this must be received

with caution, for he fell mortally wounded at the siege of Falaise, in Normandy, a few years later.

A little while after (when, it may be supposed, the insurrectionary bands were dispersed to their several quarters), the Norman leader again determined to compel the obedience of the recalcitrant knight. On this occasion he got possession of his person (probably by stratagem) and brought him to his castle at Cardiff, "where he was bound in chains, for that he would not pay what had been charged of him in tribute, which was a noble in the year." From this statement of old Mansell it would seem that Fitz-Aymon was not indisposed to compromise matters with Sir Payne, and to have accepted from him that degree of allegiance which he had freely proffered to Caradog his brother-in-law; if so, the conciliatory proposal was rejected, for, headed by the last-mentioned chief, the Welsh again took up arms, again marched to Cardiff and beset the conqueror in his castle there, "whereupon Sir Robert was compelled to let go Payne Turberville, and to give him free" of the tribute.

This last defeat either exhausted the patience of Fitz-Aymon, or no other opportunity presented itself during his lifetime of renewing the controversy, for he never afterwards attempted to molest his refractory knight or any of his allies. In 1107 the conqueror accompanied an expedition into Normandy, where he died in that year from a spear-wound received at the siege of Falaise. His remains were brought back to this country and interred in the Abbey of Tewkesbury, to which, if he were not the founder, he had been a munificent benefactor. He left no son, but four daughters behind him; the two younger of these (whose names have not been preserved) took the veil; the two elder, Amice and Mabel, were married in the lifetime of their father; the former to the Earl of Brittany, who, in right of his wife, succeeded to Fitz-Aymon's honours and seignories in Normandy; and the latter was espoused to Robert de Mellent, surnamed the Consul (a natural son of King Henry I. by Nest, the daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr,

prince of Dynevor), on whom were conferred by his royal father all the dignities and possessions of Fitz-Aymon in England and Wales.

After the death of the conqueror his countryman, undeterred by his failures, again attempted to fasten the yoke of feudalism upon the necks of the Welsh. Again the latter flew to arms, but before a blow was struck by either side, Einion the Traitor interposed as a peacemaker between the contending parties, who, as he justly observed, were too equally balanced for either to calculate upon a decided advantage; "the Welshmen for their courage could not be subdued, nor the Normans for their force expulsed." After a little time he succeeded in establishing peace upon the following conditions:—1. That each party should forget and forgive all injuries and causes of grief and debate; 2. That each party and their heirs should hold and enjoy all such territories as they then possessed for ever; 3. The seignory, certain chief rents and demesnes in every lordship possessed by the Glamorganians reserved to Robert Consul and his successors for ever; and 4. The Glamorganians should enjoy the liberty of their own laws (*moes a devod*, "usage and custom").

Thus far Meyrick; but other and equally authentic relations state that in this definitive treaty Sir Payne Turberville—

"should hold his castles and manors of Coity, Newcastle, and Court Colman, of himself, and pay no tribute and render no fealty; but that he should sit in court as the Substantiate of the Welsh franklins, with one right of speech for himself and another for the country; and so it was with his heirs, and remained till the time of Sir John Beauchamp [Earl of Worcester], when they lost the royalty sole.[3]"

Sir Payne himself did not long survive to profit by his persistent and ultimately successful opposition to the absolute rule of his countrymen in the lordship of Glamorgan; his posterity, however, to the eleventh generation in lineal descent, enjoyed all the territorial posses-

[3] Mansell.

sions, as well as exercised all the peculiar prerogatives, which he had won with his sword, when, in default of a male heir, the seigniory of Coity passed into the family of Berkrolles, Lords of St. Athan.

The Welsh were not long permitted to enjoy in peace the fruits of their arduous struggle for the preservation of their ancient laws and customs. The Normans were induced, probably by the removal of their invincible antagonist Turberville, to break the solemn compact which they had lately concluded with him and his allies. Again they sought to introduce the hated feudal system into the country, and again they met with the stoutest resistance from the exasperated people. The contest that ensued was brief but decisive. On this occasion the Welsh were led by Ivor ab Cadivor (better known as Ivor Bâch, or Ivor the Little), Lord of Senghenydd. Marching a large body of insurgents against the castle of Cardiff, he laid siege to and carried it by storm, making prisoners of Robert Consul and his lady. He refused to liberate them until such time as the English monarch confirmed by oath the previous treaty: thenceforward the Welsh of Glamorgan had the unmolested enjoyment of their ancient usages.

The free exercise of the Welsh laws not only satisfied the demands of the inhabitants of the Vale, but also precluded all just opposition on the part of the mountaineers: the most obstinate among them, so long as the Normans kept faith with the former, were constrained to preserve the peace. The neutral and waste lands which lay on the frontiers, between the respective possessions of the foreigners and natives, were annexed by common consent to the lordship of Miskin, and thus passed into the hands of Madoc, the son of Iestyn.

"By means of this [final] composition (remarks Meyrick) it came to pass that sedition was repressed. Such as sometime had been lords in the bowels of Glamorgan were constrained by necessity to become tenants in the barren soil of the mountains; so that there remaineth scarce any memory of any other gentleman that then dwelled in Glamorgan, saving Iestyn and Ievan [Einion]."

The subsequent fortunes of the once magnificent lordship of Glamorgan may be summed up in a few words; Robert Consul, after his release from captivity, devoted his attention exclusively to the welfare of his people. "He, being born a Welshman, was greatly beloved throughout the country, and he repaired much of the injuries that had resulted from the wars of Iestyn."[4] Upon his death without male issue, the lordship passed to Prince (afterwards King) John, who had married his youngest daughter Isabella. Upon the death of the latter it fell to the son of her sister Amice, Countess of Clare, in whose family it remained for more than a century (*i. e.*, from 1211 to 1314), when, upon the fall of Gilbert, last Earl of Clare and Gloucester, on the field of Bannockburn, who died unmarried, it passed to Eleanor his sister and heiress, the wife of Hugh Le de Spencer, in whose family it continued till the close of the fourteenth century. It then passed by marriage to the Beauchamps, Earls of Worcester; and again in default of male issue, to Neville, Earl of Salisbury and Warwick (the King-maker); upon whose death, on the bloody field of Barnet (1471), it devolved on the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard the Third, who had espoused Anne, the daughter of the great Earl. Henry VII. on his accession restored it to the family of the latter (the old Countess of Warwick), with whom it remained till it was conferred, for the want of a lineal heir, on Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford, who dying childless in 1495, it fell again to the Crown, and was never afterwards granted to a subject. By the act of 27 King Henry VIII. it was converted into a county under a lord-lieutenant. Prior to that year (1536) a considerable portion of the lordship had been disposed of in piecemeal to opulent families established in it.

[4] Iolo MSS.

LLANDAFF.

THE CATHEDRAL OF SS. PETER, PAUL, DUBRICIUS, TELEIAU, AND OUDOCEUS.

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[Authorities.—Browne Willis's Llandaff, 1718; Mitred Abbeys, ii. 357–8; Ecclesiologist, xviii. 154; Illustrated London News, 1857, ii. 247; Freeman's Llandaff, 1850; Archæologia Cambrensis, i. N. S. 267, i. O. S. 24, v. N. S. 195; Rees's Liber Landavensis, 1840; Anglia Sacra, ii. 662–6; Account, &c., by the Bishop of Llandaff, 1860; History, by Dean Conybeare; Monasticon, vi. 1217–38.]

> On the frame
> At such transition from the fervid air
> A grateful coolness falls, that seems to strike
> The heart, in concert with that temperate awe
> And natural reverence which the place inspires.

In 1564 the Eisteddvod was held in this little village city.

Llandaff, Llan-ar-dâf, the Church on the river Tâf, lies in a hollow, with rising ground on the west and south. At the east end flows the river; it is only two miles from Cardiff, to which it was proposed to translate the see.

Architectural History.—The earliest church here, dedicated to St. Peter, and founded by St. Dubricius, (*Ang. Sac.* ii. 668,) consisted of a nave with aisles and an apse, measuring 43 by 12 feet, and 20 feet in height (*Ang. Sac.* ii. 661); it remained standing in 1120, (Godwin, 603,) but was greatly injured owing to the wars of the preceding century. Bishop Urban, on April 14th, in the next year, having issued letters for subscriptions to the clergy and laity, began to rebuild it, (*Ang. Sac.* ii. 661,) but still with small dimensions, the nave being commensurate with the present Presbytery, and the choir with the Lady Chapel, and the building had probably no aisles, but a lateral tower with a baptistery below it, as at Canterbury,

where the vaulted vestibule of the Chapter-House now stands. It has been presumed, from an ancient drawing, that Urban's nave possessed both a triforium and clerestory, and it may have extended one bay westward of the present Presbytery. Archbishop Ralph, 1114–22, issued an exhortation for subscriptions, with the grant of a relaxation of penance. In 1119 Urban wrote a letter to Pope Calixtus, at Rheims, begging his protection owing to the cruelty of the natives, the incursions of the Normans, robbery of his titles by laymen and monks, and the invasions of his diocese by the Bishops of Hereford and St. David's.

"February 6, 1722–3, Wednesday, ten o'clock at night, the main couples of the roof of the south-west tower fell down with it, and bore with it the timber of the loft that lay under it, and shattered and bruised a great deal of the tower wall. The other battlements of the north tower, at the east side, were blown down by a storm, November 20th, on Sunday, 1720; they fell on the north side, and beat down 20 feet of it in length to the ground. The storm also threw two pinnacles off the south tower, so that there is but one pinnacle now left. It broke the windows in divers places. On September 3, 1723, there fell down 50 feet of the roof at the west end, near the font, whereupon the choir service was removed into the Lady Chapel, and the west door shut up, and the entrance is now by the south door."—*Cole MS.*, xxix. fol. 14 b.

In 1721, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Wake) informed Browne Willis that the King would give £1000 to the repairs, and that he himself hoped to make some provision to have the Cathedral duly supplied.—*Cole MS.*, xxix. 47 b.

In 1736, an abominable tower and portico, in the Italian style, were proposed to be added at the west end, the Church to be reduced by 40 feet, to a length of 153 feet, the Chapter-House was to be made into an octagon, and wooden frames introduced into the windows as cheaper than the Gothic.—*Cole MS.*, xxix. 50 b.

Owing to the fact that the church was never entirely rebuilt since Urban's time, it has obtained its present anomalous oblong form. Bishop Henry de Abergavenny,

1193–1219, who founded fourteen prebends in the church, probably commenced the *Nave* and *Choir*, in which the lancet work of the arcades and *West Front* are not earlier than 1220; and De Goldcliff, his successor, completed the works: the *Chapter-House* is somewhat later. The aisle walls are earlier than the arcades. Bishop W. de Braose, 1266–87, and John de Monmouth, 1296–1323, are believed to have rebuilt the Early Geometrical Decorated *Lady Chapel*, with the Decorated *Presbytery* and its aisles; while the aisles in the remainder of the church were gradually reconstructed; in their east windows Perpendicular tracery was afterwards inserted. Bishop Marshall, 1495, bequeathed £40 to the bell tower or fabric of the church (*Cole MS.*, xxix. fol. 21 b). Bishop de Monmouth consecrated the church in 1296. A previous consecration on St. Edmund's-day, November 20, 1266, is recorded in the Exchequer Chronicle (*Arch. Camb.* viii. 282). In 1575 Bishop Blethin described it as "ruinous." Bishop Bull speaks of it in 1697 as "our sad and miserable cathedral;" and Willis, in 1719, as "the poor desolate Church of Llandaff." Mr. Wood, with the assistance of Mr. Killin, of Cricklade, transformed a portion of the church, consisting of the Choir, and four eastern bays of the Nave, (the rest remaining in ruins,) into a pseudo-Italian temple, at a cost of £7000, in 1752. In 1835–6, the Præcentor, H. Douglas, gave the first impulse to the restoration, which has been carried out by Deans Knight, Conybeare, and Williams.

Ground-plan.—The Cathedral comprises a Nave of six bays, with aisles; a Choir and Presbytery, each of two bays, and with aisles; a Chapter-House and Lady Chapel, of four bays. The original Early English design may have included two eastern towers, making in all four, flanking each end, as in German examples. The seal of the Chapter, in 1234, represented a church with four towers. Cole says it was a church with two turrets at the east and west ends, with a large spire steeple in the middle.—*Cole MS.*, xxix. fol. 15.

Dimensions of the Cathedral in feet.

Total internal length, 245 feet.

	Length.	Breadth.	Height.
Nave	110	66	55
Choir and Presbytery	82	66	65
Lady Chapel	57	25	36
North-West Tower	32	22	105
Chapter-House	23	21	18

Area, 15,440 feet.

I.—*The Exterior.—The West Front.*—The approach to the west front, by a steep descent, is singularly striking. In the base story is a double round-headed doorway, 10 feet by 7½ feet, with a central pendant, and in the tympanum an aureole containing the effigy of St. Dubricius. The outer arch is round, and its shafts are detached, clustered and banded with richly ornamented capitals. In the next stage is a triplet, the central window measures 20 by 4 feet, separated by a narrow blank arch from the side lights, each of which is 16 by 3 feet: the arches spring from shafts doubly-banded: above the spandrils is a range of six roses. The gable stage contains a large window to air the roof, set in an arcade of six round-headed trefoil arches, pyramidised to the slope; above is a trefoiled arch containing a Majesty; the apex is crowned with a cross. The front was flanked by two dissimilar towers (that on the south-west was blown down in 1722; it was Early English, 89 feet high, with a stair-case turret; the upper storey was added in the Perpendicular period. It is proposed to rebuild it with a broach spire). The north-west or *Jasper's Tower* has an Early English lower stage, with a Perpendicular window to the aisle inserted. It is of three storeys, battlemented, with an octagonal south-west stair-turret, and had formerly an open-work parapet, with crocketted pinnacles, destroyed by a storm, November 27, 1703. It was built by Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford, in 1485, and has pinnacled buttresses, with many offsets. It contains five bells, of which three are of the seventeenth century. The big bell, recast 1739, weighs 2000 lbs. and 1 qr.—(*Cole MS.*, xxviii. 37 b.)

II.—*The Nave* and *Choir* form a continuous elevation of seven bays, comprising in each a couplet of distinct lancets in the clerestory, divided by flat pilasters sinking into a corbel-table. The lean-to *Aisles* are battlemented, and have been spanned by flying arches, and had buttresses added to them to support the clerestory, which overhung the arcade below. The windows, Late Decorated, are ogee-headed, with reticulated tracery foliated. There are two doorways on each side; the south-eastern, Decorated, has an aureole-niche with an image bracket. The north-eastern door was called the Prebendary's; the north-western that of St. Teleiau: through it the bodies of the dead were brought in. The western doorways are rich and Late Norman, *c.* 1160; that on the south has an unique moulding like an Etruscan scroll. (This door opened into the Consistory Court, a two-storeyed Early English building.) The want of the usual central tower, and of a transept, is strikingly perceptible; it could only be softened by a flêche rising above the Presbytery, for which a base is laid in the roof, and a high conical roof which is now being added to the Chapter-House.

III.—*The Presbytery* is of two bays. The clerestory, consisting of two two-light Decorated windows, is entirely new; so is the three-light east window below a traceried circle. The *Aisles* are of three bays; on the north the line of windows is continuous and uniform, but on the south one window is of five lights, Decorated, but flat-headed; the other is Pointed; formerly there was a clerestory over them consisting of two single lancets: the east windows have Perpendicular tracery inserted in Decorated jambs; the angle-buttresses are pedimented; the rich open parapet is new.

IV.—*The Lady Chapel*, Transitional Early English, has tall buttresses with offsets, and long narrow windows with Geometrical tracery, two trefoiled lights with a circle in the head. The east window is a restoration: the gable light is triangular, with tracery. The parapet is deep: the roof unfortunately low.

V.—*The Chapter-House*, Early English, occupies the western bay of the south aisle of the Presbytery, and projects like a transept; it is oblong, and has trefoiled lancet windows and buttresses. The School was formerly held in the upper storey, and approached by an external staircase. The Chapter-House is in course of restoration.

1. *The Interior* is simple and grand. *The Nave.*—The triplet, with its arch mouldings and jamb shafts, (which are brought down to the ground on each side of the central door with excellent effect,) fills the whole width of the west end. There is no triforium, the wall passage being carried along the clerestory, lately rebuilt with Bath oolite, which is simple and beautiful, consisting of an arcade of five arches, two of them being pierced as windows. The vaulting-shafts, which are clustered, distinguish the bays. In the pillars capitals are foliated, and the shafts clustered. The memorial window, by Clayton and Bell, in the south-west tower, was the gift of Sir J. D. Harding, in the memory of his father. The pulpit, which stood against the fourth pillar from the west end, was destroyed in the great rebellion. The present pulpit, designed by Messrs. Prichard and Seddon, in the style of the thirteenth century, stands on a central pillar of green serpentine, surrounded by six smaller shafts of red marble: the upper part and the staircase hand-rail are composed of marble shafts alternately red and green: angels supporting a stone book-stand: the panels, carved by Woolner, represent Moses, David, SS. John and Paul. The encaustic tiles are by Minton. The timber ceilings are modern. Teak stalls have been introduced. The font is the gift of Dean Williams; the brass lectern, by Skidmore, was presented by Messrs. Hill, of Bristol and Cardiff.

2. *The Choir.*—A rood-screen probably marked the entrance of the ritual choir between the third arches from the east in the nave. The shafts are keel-shaped, with clusters of three attached to the principal faces. The stalls are arranged in the two western bays, and were backed by a solid screen of stone, resembling Rochester.

The eastern arch was blank, a smaller one being open under it; but the arches have since been opened into the aisles. There was formerly a painted ceiling of wood. The *Organ*, by Gray and Davison, which cost £1000, was opened on September 17, 1861. In the stalls and throne, teak, acacia, and coloured woods have been used. The old order of the stalls was as follows:—

Bishop.....	Archdeacon...
Treasurer.....	Chancellor... (Mag. W. Havell)
Præcentor....(Mag. Henry Hickman)....Langwm .....(Wm. Matthew)	
Fairwell.....(Mag. Wm. Clark).....Warthacwm...(Rog. Griffith)	
Fairwater.....(Al. W. Jones).....S. Nicholas....(Jo. Mayo)	
Cayre.....(Rich. Gwent).....St. Dubricius.(Dr. Griffith Lysons)	
St. Cross.....(Henry Morgan).....St. Andrew...(Thos. Beschurch)	
Vicars Choral	Vicars Choral
4 Singing Men	

—*Cole MS.*, xxviii. 37 b., 45 b.; Add. MS., lviii., xxviii., fol. 37 b.

On the south side are five raised and canopied stalls for the Dean and Canons; on the north side is the Organ; in the second row are Canons and Minor Canons, and Choirmen, and in the third range Choristers. A noble lofty arch divides the Choir from the Presbytery.

3. *The Presbytery.*—All the walls above the Early English arcade have been rebuilt, and the three pier-arches opened; a portion of a fourth remains closed on the south, having been only imperfectly begun, and then left, intersecting a Norman window, the open ceiling, and Decorated Clerestory. A very fine stilted Norman arch divides the Presbytery from the Processional path; it has a peculiar ornament, composed of a studded circle inclosing a flower of many petals. Above it are a Decorated three-light window, and a circle filled with stained glass, the gift of Mr. Markland. The altar-space is laid with marble mosaics. The candle standards, of metal, by Skidmore, were the gift of Rev. E. T. Williams. The *Reredos*, of Caen stone, is triple-gabled, with richly carved mouldings, crockets, and finial crosses: in the centre is the Lamb and flag treading the wine-press alone. Three panels are filled with pictures of the adoration of the Saviour at the Nativity, and of David as a Shepherd and Royal Psalmist, by Rosetti. The

four *Sedilia* have alternately shafts of red and green marble, the rouge-royal and emperor's red, with mosaic panels in geometrical figures, and in the gables (5 feet 3 inches broad) effigies of the Evangelists. There was formerly, as at York, a vestry behind the old reredos, which is Late Decorated, with additions by Bishop Marshall, 1480; it consisted of a double row of arched panels with side doors. It is now in the North Aisle, at the east end of which was formerly the Matthews' Chantry, 11 by 15 feet, which had a parclose of oak. In the *South Aisle* is a vaulted bay forming a Vestibule to the Chapter-House, of the Transitional Norman period: it may have been the porch-basement of an intended tower. At the east end was a chantry. There are two aumbries in each aisle.

4. *The Lady Chapel*, Early Geometrical Decorated, and restored at a cost of £1275, has a beautiful quadripartite stone vault, rising from Purbeck shafts carried to the ground, and with bosses at the intersections. The Presbytery Aisles being prolonged along the two western bays, there are arches between them, of earlier character, formerly filled with parcloses of wood. The five-light east window, above the panelled reredos, was rebuilt, 1844, being the first work of restoration by Mr. Prichard. A new south-eastern entrance has been added, and the ancient buttress restored.

5. *The Chapter-House* is an oblong, with a quadripartite Early English vault rising from a round central pillar. It contained a painting of the Assumption of the Virgin on panel, now at Bishop's Court, which had formed part of Bishop Marshall's throne.

VI.—The principal Monuments are the following:—

1. *Nave, North Aisle.*—Sepulchral recesses on the north side, between the pillars, on a line with the eastern doorways.

2. *Presbytery.*—South-east side, St. *Teleiau*, sepulchral recess of the date 1200, with an effigy. At the tomb persons buying land swore to fulfil their contract, in presence of the Bishop and Chapter, in the thirteenth

century (*Cole MS.*, xxix. fol. 15 b). North-east side, St. *Dubricius*, effigy, with a carving of the Resurrection on the vault of the canopied recess. Jo. Jevan, Treasurer, 1541, desired to be buried in St. Dubricius' Chapel (*Cole MS.*, xxix. fol. 32 b).

3. *North Choir Aisle.*—Eastern Chantry, D. *Matthew*, standard-bearer to Edward IV., murdered at Neath; effigy of alabaster. North wall, a cadaver under a canopied recess. Bishop *Bromfield*, died 1391; effigy. South wall, Bishop *Marshall*, died 1496; effigy. *South Choir Aisle.*—Isabel, Lady *Audley*, of the early part of the fifteenth century; effigy of alabaster, with figures at the back. Bishop J. de *Monmouth*, died 1323; effigy under a canopy. A coffin lid with a floriated cross, a shield, and head of a figure. Two slabs for bishops. A sepulchral recess. Mrs. Purchase's window, by Lavers and Barraud.

4. *Lady Chapel.*—Bishop *Pascal*, died 1361; slab and effigy. North-west side, Sir Christopher, died 1500, and Lady *Matthew;* high tomb, with effigies and figures in niches. The wall behind was painted with figures in fresco. Bishop de *Braose*, died 1287; effigy of blue lias. A slab of a bishop and effigy. Sir W. and Dame *Matthews*, of Anadyr, *c.* 1528; high tomb, with figures in niches, and effigies, attributed to Cellini by Mr. Wyndham.

5. *Church-yard.*—A cross of Dundry and St. Donat's stone, a memorial of Dean Conybeare.

VII.—When the Normans, in 1091, seized all the lands of the district, the revenues of the church were so reduced, that instead of twenty-four, only two canons could be maintained (Godwin, 603); but Bishop Henry, 1194–1218, established fourteen prebends (*ibid.* 605). The earliest church was founded by Germanus and Lupus, and, according to tradition, the king, Meuryg, carrying the Gospels on his back, and attended by clergy bearing crosses, and sprinkling holy water and dust from the church floor, went the circuit of the close and domains, and confirmed the right of sanctuary (*Ang. Sac.* ii. 669).

In the reign of Elizabeth, Bishop Kitchen announced himself as the Bishop of "Aff" the "land" having been taken away. In the Civil Wars the Cathedral was converted by Milles, a puritan, into an ale-house; the choir became a calf-pen, the font a hog-trough; one arm of the transept was used as a stable, and the other as a post office. For many years,

> The reverend pile lay wild and waste,
> Profaned, dishonoured, and defaced;
> The civil fury of the time
> Made sport of sacrilegious crime,
> For dark fanaticism rent
> Altar and screen and monument.

In 1692 the choral service was suspended. In 1717 it was proposed to remove the See to Cardiff. From 1120 the office of Dean was not filled up, (the Archdeacon being called Sub-Dean or Vice-Dean, *Cole MS.*, xxix. fol. 28 b,) until the appointment of Dean Knight, who commenced restorations in 1842, which were continued, at a cost of £9000, to the re-opening of the Cathedral, on April 16, 1857.

The Dean and Chapter of Gloucester lent their choir for the occasion—the first on which choral music had been heard within the ancient walls since the year 1691, and the Bishop of Oxford preached, when a collection was made amounting to £620 10s. 9d. On an appeal made by the present Dean, then Archdeacon of Llandaff, after the service, subscriptions amounting to no less than £2775 were promised on the spot. To this unexpected contribution large additions were soon made, to the amount of £6497 9s. 3d. The immediate result of these contributions was, that directions were given (1.) for the repair of the Arcade; (2.) the reconstruction of the Clerestory; (3.) the rebuilding of the side Aisles, &c.; (4.) of a portion of the southern tower; and (5.) for the timber work of the roof of the Nave. These works were completed in the year 1858, at a cost of £3425. The roof of the Nave was then covered with green Bangor

slates, the side aisles were covered with lead, the windows were glazed; and in the report of 1861, it was stated that the once ruined section of the Nave had been thoroughly restored, and the "partition wall" (the last relic of the miserable "restoration" of 1752) had been removed; while now, with a portion of minor details, there will remain only the rebuilding of the south-west tower, and then, as was said by the Dean in 1864, "the whole design of the original architect will once more appear in all its ancient beauty and perfection."

VIII.—The Establishment is composed of a Dean and four Canons. There are two Minor Canons. The choral service was restored in 1861. There were formerly four (now six) Lay Vicars, and four (now fourteen) Choristers. There are daily morning services at 11 a.m. The Holy Communion is administered on the first and third Sundays in the month. On Sundays there are choral services at 11 a.m. and 3.30 p.m., and in the evening the Litany, with a sermon and hymns. In 1862 the first annual diocesan choral festival was held in the Cathedral. The income of the Chapter in 1852 was only £713; the expenditure on the fabric in 1844, owing to subscriptions, was £1275. £19,000 in all have been spent. The library contains ninety-five volumes. The rebels compelled their cavalier prisoners, and the wives of the sequestered clergy, to warm themselves, on a bitter winter's day, at a fire kindled at Cardiff with the books from Llandaff.

Arms: Sa. two pastoral staffs in saltier or and arg. On a chief az. three mitres.

IX.—*The Close.*—The Archdeacon's house, in which Henry II. was entertained, measured 144 by 60 feet, and stood on the north-west, under the brow of a hill, in a field called Llan-y-arâch. There is a small house adjoining the Cathedral with a geometrical hall and Elizabethan porch; and also an old ruin, called Black Hall, of two storeys, with a foliated window in the gable. In 1575 the Vicars and Annuellars resided in a house within a close given them by Vaughan of Llanover. On the

north-east of the Bishop's Castle were the Prebendary of Warthacwm's and the Treasurer's houses. On the east of the Lady Chapel was the College of Vicars Choral: on the north-east of the cemetery were three prebendal houses, and on the north-west the Audit-Room and Library. The Præcentor's house was in the College, the Chancellor's house adjoined the College at the east end of the Cathedral; above the hill lived the Prebendaries of Cayre and St. Dubricius; the Prebendary of Langwm in St. Mary's Street; near the Archdeacon's close, on the brow of the hill, was the prebendal house of Fairwater (*Cole MS.*, xxix. fol. 16 b); and also on the north-east side of the church-yard, the house of the Prebendary of St. Andrew, and westward of it the prebendal house of St. Cross. A deanery and residentiary house, with two houses for the Minor Canons, have been recently built. On the south-west was a detached bell-tower, from which Great Peter was removed to Exeter Cathedral in exchange for five smaller bells.

X.—The See was founded in the middle of the fifth century by King Meuryg, of Glamorgan, who endowed it with all the lands lying intermediate between the rivers Tâf and Elwy.

Llandaff numbers among its Bishops SS. Dubricius, at whose desire Merlin translated the Giant's Dance to Stonehenge; Cymeliauc, 872–927, seized by the Danes in his church, and ransomed for £40 by the king; Kitchen, 1545–63, "who for ever spoiled the good meat of Llandaff;" industrious Godwin, 1601–18; Owen, 1640–5, who died in his chair at the news of Laud's death; Beaw, 1649–1706, who fought for the king, and whom Tenison reminded that "at his age he should think of but one translation—to a seat above;" princely Barrington, 1769–82, and Watson, 1782–1816, "the self-taught divine," who excused himself to the sceptic Gibbon for writing the book which drew forth George the Third's exclamation, "Apology for the Bible!—I never knew it wanted one," for thirty years nonresident, so that he could boast in his Westmoreland retirement,

that, with the poorest bishopric in the king's books, he was the richest prelate in his dominions; orthodox Marsh, 1816–19, and Van Mildert, 1819–26.

The old Palace is in ruins on the south-east. A castellated gateway of the thirteenth century, flanked by two square towers with their angles chamfered off, characteristic of architecture in South Wales, and some ivied walls remain: the house having been burned by Owen Glendower. The modern Palace, Bishop's Court, is approached through this gateway. The other episcopal residences were Bishopston and Mathern, built by Bishop Zouch, 1408–25 (Godwin 609). The Town-House in the Strand was pulled down by the Protector Somerset.

DERIVATION OF "BOTHER."

It is now generally conceded that the English language has borrowed the word *bother* from the Celtic; but a few years ago this was by no means the case, and English etymologists were completely puzzled as to its origin. Dr. Webster, of all the English lexicographers the most disposed to trace words to Celtic sources, writing as late as 1841, says that "its origin and affinities are not ascertained." Having a particular occasion in the year 1848 to investigate the origin of the word, and finding that such dictionaries as were within my reach afforded no assistance, it occurred to me that in the course of a conversation with Carnhuanawc and Dr. Carl Meyer, at Llanover, some years previously, the former gentleman incidentally remarked that *bother* was one of the many words in current use adopted by the English from the Irish; I wrote to him on the subject, reminding him of the observation which he had made at Llanover, and received the following answer to my query. It is the last letter I ever had the pleasure of receiving from him, and it will be perceived that it was written only a

very few months before the termination of his earthly career.

Y Persondy, August 12, 1848.

Dear Sir,—It is my opinion that the word *Bother* is nothing else than the Irish *Bodhair, to deafen*; from *Bodhar, deaf.* The same word with but very little difference is found in the Welsh and Cornish, but I prefer deriving it from the Irish, as that language has furnished us with so many slang words of the kind; as *blarney, shindy, shillaly,* &c. And I am disposed to think that the modern word *Bore* is no other than the Irish *Bodhair*, with the *dh* slurred over and rendered mute according to the genius of that language.

I remain,

Yours truly,

T. Price.

The Irish origin of *bore*, and its relation to *bother*, have not, as far as I am aware, been suggested by any previous writer, though many attempts have been made to trace its pedigree.

Dyvedon.

PHILOLOGY.

THE HIBERNO-CELTIC NAMES OF BIRDS, BEASTS, FISHES AND INSECTS, WHICH ARE COMMONLY KNOWN IN IRELAND,

WITH THE MEANINGS OR DERIVATIONS OF THE MOST OF THEM; THEIR ENGLISH NAMES ARE GIVEN FIRST IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER.

The sources from which the Celtic names have been collected are the following:—Keogh's work on Irish Animals; the Irish Gaelic Dictionaries of O'Brien and O'Reilly, and several ancient Irish Glossaries; the Scotch Gaelic Dictionaries of Shaw, Armstrong, and the excellent Dictionary published by the Highland Society in three volumes.

The English pronunciation of those names which are

at present in common use is given in parentheses; but, in some cases, similarity, and not identity, is all that can be furnished.

Many of the names are very old and are now obsolete; and several others that are in use in one province (or even in a small district) may be entirely unknown in all other parts of Ireland. Those that are obsolete are generally marked *ob.*

Ant, SEANGÁN (shong-aun), which is derived from *seang*, slender, *án*, a diminutive particle, and therefore signifies the small insect with the slender middle or body. DIBHEACH, an ant, or pismire, derived from *di*, a negative or privative particle, and *beach*, a bee, *i. e.*, an insect in the shape of a bee, but which is not a bee; or it may signify the expeller or plunderer of bees. I never heard this name used. O'Reilly also gives the name *moirbh*, an ant, a pismire, an emmet, but it is now obsolete. *Neimhi* (ob.), ants' eggs.

Ass, ASAL (oss-ol). Only that this name is much the same in about a dozen other languages I might be induced to derive it from *as* or *eas*, a privative and negative particle, and *al*, a horse (very ob. except in the word *cap-all*, a horse), meaning that he has the shape and form of a horse but still is not a horse.

Badger, BROC,[1] which signifies of a greyish colour, from the colour of its hair, "as grey as a badger," Welsh *broch*. BROCAIS means a badger burrow, from which many places in mountainous districts have obtained their names; and also from *broc*, as in the title of Lord Clonbrock, derived from *cluan* or *clon*, a field, and *broc*, of badgers,=badger-field. The word *broc* or *brocc*, which in the plur. makes *bruic*, is found in Cormac's Glossary to his *Psalter of Cashel*. Cormac, son of Cullenan, King of Munster, and Archbishop of Cashel, was killed at the battle of Ballagh-Muna, in co. Kildare, A.D. 903. The *Psalter of Cashel* (as well as the *Psalter of Tara*) was so called from its consisting chiefly of poetical compositions, the prose part being only an introduction to the poems; and at the end of each introduction the writer generally states to this effect—"so that it was concerning these affairs the poet *sang* (*ro chán* or *ro chachain* =*cecinit*) the following Lay." But according to other authorities it was so named, because it was as necessary for the historian as the PSALTER is to the ecclesiastic.

Barnacle, CADHAN (Kí-on), which signifies a stranger, a wanderer.

[1] Brock forms the first syllable in the names of several places in England, as Brockford, near Eye, in Suffolk; Brockholes, a hamlet near Huddersfield, in the West Riding of the county of York; Brockley, near Bristol; Brockmoor, near Dudley, Staffordshire, &c.—ED. CAMB. JOUR.

The barnacle is much smaller than the wild goose, and is believed by the country people along the western coast of Ireland to issue from the barnacle shell which they call *sligeán cadhan* (barnacle shell). This name appears in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, at A.D. 960, as *geise agus cadhan*, swans and barnacles. O'Reilly gives also the name *giodhrán*, now obsolete; and Keogh calls it *geadh beag fiadhain, i. e.*, a small wild goose.

Bat, SCIATHÁN LEATHAIR. *Sciathán* is compounded of *Sciath*, a wing, a shield (Gr. σκια, a shade, shadow) and *án*, a diminutive particle; and *leathair*, gen. of *leathar*, leather; thus signifying the bird with small leather wings. It is also called *míoltóg leathair*, the former word being compounded of *míol*, a general name for all animals, but especially those that are wild, and *óg* the diminutive particle, *i. e.*, the small bird with leather wings.

Beast, *biast*, *béist*, *piast*, and *péist*; Welsh *buyst*; Latin *bestia*. *Biast*, a beast, a worm, a reptile, is explained in an old glossary by the word *gonfas, i. e.*, that will wound or hurt.

Bee, *beach* (bach). The sound or pronounciation of this word is expressive of the humming of the bee. In the Biscayan dialect, which is believed to be Celtic and to have a great similarity to the Irish language, this name is *bechon*. We have also *beathmhan* and *beathóg*, which are derived from *beatha*, food, because it gathers honey for our use. *Earc* is obsolete, but means honey. *Beach* makes *beich* in the plural; in modern language they say *beacha*, bees.

Humble-Bee, or Humming-Beetle, *primpiollán* (prim-pull-aun), compounded of *primpioll*, a buzzing or whimpering sound, and *án*, the terminative particle. It may be remarked that *án*, *ín* and *óg* are both diminutive and terminative particles, and *ach* is also a terminative particle, as *marc*, (ob.) a horse, *marcach* a horseman, which is in general use.

Beetle, *ciarog* (keer-ogue), from *ciar*, dark-brown, and *óg*; signifying the dark-brown little insect. In the Scotch Gaelic it is *ciarag*, having *ag*, which is short in sound for *og*, which is long in Irish, for in dissyllables they generally have the accent on the first, as in *Oisin*, Ossian, which in Irish is *Oisín*, pronounced *Osh-een*.

Bird, *éan*, *eun* (*a-un*, pronounced in one long syllable), which also means water. Birds, *eunluith*, but more anciently *eathaide*, and *eithide*, from *eite*, a wing (and also signifies a fin), and hence the the word *eitiol*, to fly, and *eitiolladh*, flight, flying.

Bittern, *buinneán léana* (bunn-aun-lay-na). The first word is formed of *buinne*, which, according to Zeuss, means a trumpeter, and *an* the terminative particle; and *leana*, a marsh or swamp, and hence the name signifies the trumpeter of the marsh, from its booming sound. In Watters' Natural History of the birds of Ireland he is called the Bog Drum. He is also called *corrghrían*, from *corr*, any bird of the crane kind, and *grian*, the sun, *i. e.*, the Heron of the Sun; and *bonnan buidhe*, or the yellow trumpeter.

Blackbird or Ousel, *londubh* (lun-dhuv), derived from *lon* or *lonach*, talkative, chattering, and *dubh*, black, *i. e.*, the chattering black (bird). In ancient MSS. it is generally written *lon*, (which in the gen. and voc. makes *luin*) without *dubh*, black; as *réar*, *rearg* (an obsolete name for it), *i. e.*, *lon*, *i. e.*, *eun dubh*, that is to say, *rear* is an ousel, *i. e.*, a blackbird.—*Old Glossary.* "Thou quick chattering blackbird; that is equivalent to a blackbird which is roused by the approach of a person in the night; he gives a whistle or cry of alarm, and he is silent for that night through the terror that seizes him."—Dallan's description in the seventh century.—*Book of Lismore.*

Boar, *collach* or *cullach*, which, according to the derivation in Cormac's Glossary, means carnal. This is the name in common use. Cormac also gives *triath* which he states means ignorance or stupidity; and *torc* (=Welsh *twrch*) which is the same as *porc*, *i. e.*, *t* for *p*. The former is obsolete while the latter is in general use at present. *Ner* (ob.) he explains by *torc allaid*, *i. e.*, a wild boar, and O'Reilly gives *fiadhchullach*, from *fiadh*, wood, and *cullach*, a boar; also *fiaclach-coille*, *i. e.*, the tusky fellow of the wood. *Fiacail*, dens; *fiaclaich* dentatem.—*Zeuss.*

Brazer-fish, *garbhan*, from *garbh*, rough or coarse, and *an;* meaning the rough or coarse fish.

Bream, *deargan* (dar-ug-aun), from *dearg*, red, and *an*, *i. e.*, the red looking fish. Shaw gives *breantadh*, meaning a fish of inferior quality, from *brean*, a disagreeable smell. Sea-bream *ballan*, from *ball*, a spot, *i. e.*, the spotted or brindled looking fish.

Buck or Doe, *eilid mhaol* (ellidh we-oll), by Keogh, *i. e.*, *eilid*, a hind, and *maol*, hornless. *Eilid* makes *eilide* in the genitive. In the *Book of Oghams*, it is written *elit*, which makes *eillte* in the plural. The word signifies lightness, buoyancy, fleetness, *i. e.*, bounding or springing in its flight.

Bull, *tarbh* (thor-uv, in one syllable); Welsh, *tarw;* Manx, *tarv;* Greek, ταυρος; Gaulish, *tarvos;* Latin, *taurus*, and is much the same in ten other languages. Cormac in his Glossary derives the Irish word from the Latin, to which he was too partial. In the *Book of Oghams* of the seventh century, as well as in Cormac's Glossary, it is written *tarb*, without the aspirate *h*, and Zeuss gives *tarbde* (taurinus). The name in Irish may signify fruit, profit, gain. O'Reilly has also *tor*, a bull, but has given no authority for it. It would signify a tower; Welsh *tur;* meaning, perhaps, that he is the tower or protector of the herd. The four names in the ox Ogham are *Tarb*, a bull; *Dam*, an ox; *Colpthach firenn*, a full grown bullock; and *Dartaid*, a young bullock.

Bullfinch, *gealbhan-cuilinn* (gal-waun-kullinn). *Gealbhan* is the name of a sparrow, which signifies a mixture of colours, and *cuilinn*, gen. of *cuileann*, the holly tree, and therefore means the sparrow of the holly, perhaps from building its nest in that tree, or frequenting it.

Bullock, *damhnartaidhe* (ob). This name may be derived from *damhna*, the matter out of which a thing can be formed, as *righ-damhna*, or *damhna-righ*, the materies of a king, *i. e.*, heir presumptive to a sovereignty, and in this case would signify the materies of a bull. Otherwise the name may be derived from *damh*, an ox, and *neartaidhe*, powerful. I never heard this name in speech; that in common use is *bullog*, which is an Irish form of the English name.

Bunting, *geallóg buachair*, signifying the whitish little bird of the cowdung, from perhaps picking up its food about dried cowdung.

Butterfly, *féiliocan* (fay-luck-aun), which means a pretty little thing, or anything that looks gaudy, as I heard it applied. But the name may be derived from *feile*, a festival, a holiday, anniversary, a time of joy or gladness, because its first or periodical appearance is in cheerful May.

Buzzard, *armhaigh*, which signifies the slaughterer of the plain, from *ar*, slaughter or killing, and *magh*, a plain or district. There are three other names for the buzzard, *clamhan*, which would imply a mangy appearance, from *clamh*, the mange; perhaps it refers to the rough-legged buzzard. *Fineon*, *i. e.*, a whitish bird, from *fionn*, pale, and *eun*, a bird. *Gilm* also means whitish, from *geal*, white, probably so called from some peculiar white spots on his plumage.

Calf, *laogh* and *laegh* (*lae*, the *l* being sounded like *ll* in the French *fille*); Welsh, *llo* or *lho;* Manx, *leigh;* Armoric, *lue;* Cornish, *leauh*. This primitive Celtic word is written *laegh* in the *Book of Rights* of the fifth century, and in Cormac's Glossary of the tenth, and is understood and in general use at present in all parts of Ireland. In Connaught *gamhain*, a calf, is more commonly used, and means a helpless silly animal, being derived from *gamh*, tender, innocent, heedless. Cormac also gives *dedhel*, which may be derived from *de*, good, and *deil* or *deilbh*, a form; *fithil* is explained by *laegh bo*, *i. e.*, the calf of a cow; and *flaithri* is similarly glossed in an old MS., and likewise by the word *bainne*, milk, meaning, perhaps, that the calf was to be fed with milk. *Aithrinne*, a calf, may be derived from *aith*, *re*, and *rinn*, a division, *i. e.*, an addition, increase of the herd. A very old name for a calf is *bennan*, or *bennagan*, which is glossed by *laegh bo*, a cow's calf. *Laegh biadhta* means the fatted calf, the latter word being derived from *biadh*, food; and *laegh fheoil* is the name for veal, *i. e.*, calf's flesh. *Bobhan* is glossed by O'Davoran, *i. e.*, *laogh*, a calf; it is derived from *bo*, a cow, and *an*, the diminutive.

Cat, *cat* (koth). This name is common to almost all the languages round the globe from Japan to California. Cormac, in his Glossary, writes it *catt*, and derives it in his usual manner *ab eo quod est cattus*. He also gives the name *bairene*, a female cat

(but by another authority a white cat), and so called, he states, from having been brought, or imported, in a *barc*, *i. e.*, a barque or boat. The word *barc*, a barque, is undoubtedly Celtic; it is the same in the Armoric and several other European languages. I find it in a poem by Eohee O'Flinn, one of the chief Bards of Ireland in the ninth century, who composed the most of his poems in the obsolete language of that period, and which would be almost unintelligible to the best Irish scholars of the present time, only that they are accompanied by a copious gloss. I also find it in the *Book of Invasions*, or the history of the early colonies of Ireland, and which perhaps is the oldest work in the Irish language. According to Eohee O'Flinn, the nom. is *barc;* gen. *bairce*, by the *Book of Invasions*, and dat. *bairc*, by Cormac; thus proving it to be a primitive word in the Hiberno-Celtic tongue. Perhaps *bairene* is the nom. plural. *Cruibne*, a barn and mill cat, from *crub*, a claw, to catch the mice and rats. *Rince*, a kitten, which also means a dance, because it is playful and frisky.

Caterpillar, *céadcosach*, by Keogh, from *cead*, a hundred, and *cosach*, footed, *i. e.*, centipede, or of many legs. It has also the following names:—*duilmhiol*, from *duille*, a leaf, and *miol*, an insect; *luibhphiast*, from *luibh*, an herb, and *piast*, a worm; *aillséog*, from *aillse*, a canker, because it consumes the leaves like a canker or spreading sore; *brattog*, from *brattach*, thievish, *i. e.*, destructive; but the most common name for caterpillars is, *piasta* (or *peiste*) *gabaiste*, worms of the cabbage, or cabbage worms.

Cattle, *crodh* (crou or crov) which signifies dowry, portion, goods, property, possessions, because it was in cattle each of a family received his portion of the property, and in which payments of tribute, rent, &c., were made. *Crodh agus ceathra*, cattle and herds.—*Four Masters*. *Crodh*, a dowry, is in general use at present. In the year 1522 an Irish MS. called the *Book of Ballymote* was sold by MacDonnogh, the owner, to O'Donnell of Donegal, for 140 milch cows. *Ed*, (ob.) cattle, from which is derived the common word *éadail (? ed fhaghail)*, profit, substance, treasure. The word *innile* or *indile*, cattle, occurs frequently in the Annals; it is explained in a glossary by the word *tormach*, which means an increase, augmentation, or becoming more bulky. *Airmheadh*, a herd of cattle, is derived from *airmhigh*, to count, enumerate; and we find, in the *Book of Rights*, that the number of cattle of every description, payable in tribute to the monarch and kings from the various territories, is definitively specified with scrupulous exactness. *Eallach*, cattle of any kind, is in general use at present. *Mion-eallach* means small cattle, such as sheep, goats, &c.

Chafer, *daol* (dhee-ol, in one syllable). It is variously written *dael*, *doel*, *daíl*, in the Annals, in ancient MSS., and *dael dubh*,

or the black chafer, in the *Book of Lismore*, a MS. of the fourteenth century. It has been generally called *dardaol* by the country people, which is derived from *dara*, second, and *daol*, which is supposed to be an abbreviation of *diabhal, i. e., diabolus*, and is held in great abhorrence by them, as they believe that its sting is poisonous and mortal. It is known to naturalists as the *Forfecula oleus*, of the earwig class. The word *daol*, signifies a fierce animal. It is also named *deagha*, which is obsolete, but means the nimble or fast creeper, and so he is. In the south of Ireland, *diabhal, diabolus*, is pronounced as if written *dial*, which has nearly the sound of *dael*, a chafer.

Chicken, *eun circe* (á-un kirke), *i. e.*, the bird of a hen. Nom. *cearc*, a hen, gen. *circe*, plur. *cearca*. Neilson, in his Irish Grammar, calls it *gircóg*, which is a corruption of *cearcóg*, a young or little hen.

Cock, *coileach* (koll-ach); Welsh, *ceiliawg*; Cornish, *kuileog*; Armoric, *quilloeg*, and is much the same in a few other languages. But the more ancient orthography of the Irish name is *cailech*, as in Cormac's Glossary at the word *Gall*, a cock. "*Gall din ainm do chailech, i. e., gallus, i. e., dinni is galea capitis nominatur, i. e., a cathbarr a chind.*" *Gall* is the name for a cock from that which is *Gallus*, and so called *a galea capitis, i. e.*, from the crest of his head. The word *cathbharr* means a helmet, from *cath*, battle, and *barr*, top; *i. e.*, the crest on the helmet. *Cailech*, is explained by the word *caile*, a voice, a call, meaning that the cock got his name from its call or crow. The English word *call* is derived from καλέω, to call, and probably all these words are derived from the Celtic.

Cock of the Wood, *coileach coille*, which is a translation of the English, *i. e., coileach*, cock, and *coille*, gen. of *coill*, a wood; Armoric, *call;* and Cornish, *kelli*. He is more commonly called (and more anciently) *coileach feadha*, which means the same, *i. e., feadha* of the wood, gen. of *fidh*, a tree or wood. Zeuss gives *fedo* as the old gen. form of this word; and Zeuss has done more for the restoration of a knowledge of the antiquated language of Ireland, and of its grammatical construction, than all the Irish scholars who have lived within the past century have effected, and therefore every Irish scholar should revere his memory with feelings of gratitude. *Fidh* is a rush, although not given in our Dictionaries, and it also means a letter, as stated in the *Book of Oghams*, in which *fedaib* is given as the dat. plural of *fid*, a letter, and *feada* the nom. plural.

Cockle, *ruacan* (roe-kon) is the name given by Keogh, and is in general use, although it is not found in any of our Dictionaries. It is derived from *ruadh*, brown, *i. e., ruadhacan*, meaning the brownish looking shell-fish. O'Reilly gives the name *sruban*, a cockle, and also a drawing or sucking in, *i. e.*, that they are sucked or eaten out of their shells; or otherwise that the fish lives by suction.

Codfish, *trosc* (throsk), which also means a fast, and probably it got this name from being used in times of fasting, for it is in prime order in the months of February and March. Armstrong, in his *Gaelic Dictionary*, at the word *trosg*, a fast, a religious fast, fasting, states:—"St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Colossians, ii. 23, writes ἐθελοθρησκεία, a voluntary fast, a superstitious fast. A Gael of Scotland would call it *toil-throsg*. The correspondence is too striking to require comment." O'Reilly gives also *bodach*, a codfish, which means a rustic, a clownish fellow, meaning that it is a common, coarse fish.

Colt, *bromach* (brom-ach), which signifies rude, rustic, *i. e.*, an unbroken animal.

Coney or Rabbit, *coinin* (kon-een), derived from *cú*, a hound, gen. *con* and *coin*, and *in*, the diminutive; and therefore signifies the little animal in the shape and of the speed of a hound.

Coot, *gata dubh* is given by Keogh, but the word *gata* must be a localism, as it is not to be found in any of the Dictionaries. The word *giota* means a piece of anything, but as applied to persons or animals, signifies short, round and plump, and in this case would mean the short black water-fowl. O'Reilly gives the name *cearc uisce*, or *uisge*, (kark is-kay) *i. e.*, *cearc*, a hen, and *uisce* of the water—a water-hen.[2] It may be remarked that the word *uisce*, and *isce*, water, enters into the names of many rivers and watery places in England, Ireland and Scotland, and also in the Crimea, as shown by Pallas in his History of that country; and whence it may be traced by *schuy* in the Turkish language; Belgian, *esch;* Armoric, *isge;* Cornish, *isge;* old Welsh or British, *isca;* and from the word *uisce* is derived the name of that fluid called *whiskey*, which is now as universally understood in America as it is in Europe.

Cormorant, *fiach dubh fairge* is the name given by Keogh, *i. e.*, *fiach*, any animal of the chase, or that preys on others, and is understood as the name of a raven; *dubh*, black, and *fairge*, of the sea=the black raven of the sea. In O'Reilly's Dictionary the following names are given:—*fiach fairge*, raven of the sea; *fiach mara*, the latter word being the gen. of *muir*, the sea; *gairg* and *gairgean*, which means a diver, or diving bird; *scarbh*, which signifies shallow water, because he generally dives in shallow water near the shore; he is well known by the name *dubh-eun-fairge*, black bird of the sea, and *seagaidh* is its name in an old Glossary, which probably it got on account of its *seagan*, or large craw or crop.

Corn-crake or Rail, *traonach*, *traghnach*, *tradhnach*, and *traon*, of which the others are various forms, and appear to be derived from *tréan*, powerful or strong, and he is also named *tréan-re-tréan*, powerful with powerful, meaning that his two joint crakes are equally powerful. In the *Book of Oghams*, the name given

[2] The Welsh name for water-hen is *cotiar*.—Ed. Camb. Jour.

him is *droen* (*i. e.*, *draon*), from which is formed *draighnach* which means a rattling (or craking) noise.

Cow, *bó* (bow), the sound of which is expressive of the lowing of the animal. The word is a heteroclite, and is thus declined:—nom. *bo*, gen. *bo*, dat. *boin*; nom. plur. *ba*, gen. *bo*, dat. *boibh*, or *buaibh ibh*=ibus. *Buar* means kine. *Bo* is compared with *bos*, Latin, *βοῦς*, Greek (*βοάω*, to low); Welsh, *buwch*; Armoric, *bu*; Cornish, *bu* and *buih*, and Manx, *bua*.

There are several places in Ireland named from the cow, as *inis-bo-finne*, or Inishbofin, an island off the coast of Mayo, and another in Lough Ree in the Shannon. It means the island of the white cow, which, it is said, had something to do with Druidism.

The following are a few of the names pertaining to the cow kind, which have been collected from various authorities.

Bo-bhaine, a cow of milk, or a milch cow; *baine* is derived from *bán*, pale or white, *i. e.*, the colour of the milk.

Bo-blicht, a milch cow; *blicht*, milk, derived from *blich* or *bligh*, to milk.

Aoideach, a milch cow, and signifies hospitality, generosity.

Loilgheach, *Luilgheach*, or *Lulgach*, is glossed by *laeg bec*, *i. e.*, a little calf, and is derived from *lu*, little, and *laegh* a calf, *i. e.*, a cow having a little calf, and therefore a milch cow. In the *Book of Oghams* the name is written *Lilgach*. *Boinlacht* is the milk of a cow, which Cormac derives from *bo*, a cow, and *lacht*, milk, *i. e.*, the quantity of milk obtained at one time from a cow. In the Cow Ogham the four names given for the animal are *Lilgach*, a milch cow; *Gamhnach*, a stripper; *Samaisc*, a heifer, or young cow; and *Dairt*, a young heifer.

O'Reilly gives the name *Laogh-ligheach*, a cow that has newly calved, *i. e.*, *laogh*, a calf, and *ligh*, to lick, because she licks her calf.

Bo dearbh, a milch cow, from *bo* and *dearbh*, a churn, *i. e.*, a churn cow for the dairy.

O'Dugan in his Glossary of obsolete words (thirteenth century) states that the two ancient names for a cow are *fearb* and *laithri*, and Cormac in his explanation of the word *Ferb* has the following:—"*Ferb* .1. *trede for dingair* .1. *ferb bo cétamus, ut est isint Senchas mar, teora ferba fira* .1. *tri ba finda.*" *Ferb* has three meanings, viz., *ferb* means a cow in the first place, as it is (written) in the *Senchas mór*, *i. e.*, three white cows. Perhaps this name is derived from *fer*, grass (or grazing), and *bo*, cow, meaning a cow equal to a *colpa* in grazing, *i. e.*, a full grown cow. The plural form *ferba*, in the quotation, favours this derivation. *Laithri* may be derived from *lacht*, milk.

Bolan, derived from *bo*, a cow, and *lan* full, *i. e.*, a full grown cow.

Sed, a young cow, which also means property, wealth, a

jewel, &c., *i. e.*, being value for money or any other precious commodities. *Sedghabhla* is glossed by *luilgheach*, a milch cow.

Bolog, a heifer, derived from *bo*, a cow, and *og*, young; the name is now understood to mean a bullock.

Agh or *adh*, a beast of the cow kind, and means luck or prosperity.

Seasgaidhe, a cow having no milk, *i. e.*, having run dry; she is now called *bo seasg*, and the word *seasg* means dry or barren.

Earc, any beast of the cow kind. "*Earca iucna*, .1. *cenel bo* .1. *ba finda, o dearga.*" (O'Reilly quoting the Breton Laws.) *Earca iucna*, *i. e.*, a kind of cows, *i. e.*, white cows, red ears. The word *earca* is explained by *ba*, the plural of *bo*, a cow and *finda*, the plur. of *find* or *fionn*, white; *iucna* by *o*, an ear or ears, and *dearga*, the plur. of *dearg*, red. I heard the word *earcán* frequently used and applied to a brindled two year old calf.

Sciathach, a cow that has white streaks on her sides, and is derived from *sciath*, a hurdle, or a shield of wicker work of different colours, and the similarity means parti-coloured.

Soilbech bethach, given in O'Davoran's Glossary, which he glosses by *bo*, a cow; and he glosses (or derives) *soilbech* by *sobleoghoin*, which is compounded of *so*, easy, and *bleoghain*, milking, *i. e.*, a cow (*bethach*, a beast) easily milked.

Colpa and *colpach* mean any full grown animal of the horse or cow kind. Six sheep are also called a *colpa*, as their grazing or feeding is estimated to be equal to that of the full grown cow or horse. The word is still in common use, and I heard it Anglicised *kolp* by those who spoke English.

Bo-gabhala is explained by *mart no bo mhéith*, *i. e.*, a beef or fat cow. The word *méith* signifies fat and juicy. The name *mart* (morth), a beef, is still in general use, and from it the town of Westport, in the county Mayo, derives its Irish name of *Cathair-na-mart*, the town of the beeves. *Cathair* (=καθέδρα) originally signified a stone fortress, but is now understood to mean a city; in Welsh, *caer* and *cadair*, and in Armoric, *cador*.

Crabfish, *partán* and *portán* (porth-awn), from *port*, a port, or the shore, and *an*, the terminative particle. It is also called *crúbán*, (kroob-aun) from *crúb*, a claw, *i. e.*, having many claws. Another name is *tarpan* or *torpan*, which means a round lump or clod, to which its form is assimilated. *Portan-chapuill* is the name of the spider crab. They are called *portan* from being always found along the shore.

AMERGIN.

(To be continued.)

CO-OPERATION IN THE SLATE QUARRIES OF NORTH WALES.

By Professor J. E. Cairnes.

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The public must now be tolerably familiar with the story of the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers, and of the numerous societies, founded upon the same principles, which, in various parts of the country, have already accomplished such great things for the working people, and given earnest for the future of still greater achievements in their behalf. It has heard something also of other and more genuine examples of "co-operation,"—where associates not only trade but "work" together, where the labourers are also the capitalists, and wages and profits return to the same hands—experiments which, small as have been the actual fruits they have hitherto yielded, form yet, in the opinion of those who have most deeply pondered the problem of industrial reform, the most solid grounds of hope for the future permanent elevation of the labouring class.[1] But there is, besides these, a third species of "co-operation," prevailing throughout some large industries in Great Britain, which has not, so far as I am aware, received any consideration in the numerous and instructive discussions which have within the last few years taken place upon this subject, but which is nevertheless well worthy of attention. I refer to the method of employing labour which prevails extensively in mining and other analogous occupations, and is known as the "bargain" or "contract" system. Having lately had an opportunity of witnessing this system in the slate quarries of North Wales, I will describe briefly the method and its results. It will, I think,

[1] See an article of great interest in the *Westminster Review* for April, 1864, entitled, "Strikes and Industrial Co-operation," in which the whole subject is handled with remarkable ability and knowledge.

be seen that it is a genuine instance of "co-operation"—one, moreover, which exhibits the beneficial tendencies of that plan, in some respects in even a more striking light than other and better known examples.

The mountains of North Wales, as is well known, constitute the principal source of the wealth of that region. They are extremely metalliferous, containing lead and copper ore, besides sulphur; but their most important constituent is the slate formation. Veins of this rock, varying in thickness from four and five, to four and five hundred yards, and traceable, in some instances, for a length of many miles, traverse the country, but more especially the mountain ranges of Caernarvon and Merioneth. The importance of the industry to which they give occasion may be judged of from the fact, that three slate quarries—those of Penrhyn, Llanberis, and Festiniog—give employment to not fewer than 7,000 men, representing a population of perhaps 20,000 persons. These are, indeed, by much the principal of the slate quarries in that region, but they form but a small fraction of the whole number. It is impossible to wander in any direction over the mountains of those two counties without finding abundant evidence how widely the popular enterprise is engaged in this branch of production. No mountain side is so inaccessible that the slate prospector has not reached it, and the most secluded glens and passes are heard to echo the thunder of the quarrier's blast.

The great majority of the slate quarries are worked by companies—either private co-partneries or joint stock companies; but a few, and notably the two largest—the quarries of Penrhyn and Llanberis—are in the hands of individuals, the proprietors of the mountains where the slate-formation occurs. In the former case the capitalist or capitalists working the quarry pay a royalty, which is generally one-twelfth of the produce. It must be observed that the slate does not, as is frequently supposed, and as might be inferred from a cursory glance at a slate quarry, constitute the mass of the mountain in which the quarry is cut. It runs in distinct

veins which, on rising towards the surface, deteriorate—a circumstance to which is due the risk which this mode of employing capital so largely involves; for it is always difficult to say from the appearance of the vein at the surface what may be its quality at a lower depth. Before this can be known, a mass of from two or three to sometimes twenty or even thirty yards in vertical depth must be removed—a tedious and costly operation, which must be completed before slate-quarrying, properly so called, begins, and which is often performed to no purpose; the quality of the rock, when thus ascertained, not proving such as to justify the further prosecution of the work. Cases have been mentioned to the writer of quarries having been abandoned after £20,000, of others others having been given up after £80,000 had been expended on preliminary operations.[2] This incident of slate-quarrying serves to explain what will be presently referred to—the unwillingness of the working quarriers to embark their savings in this kind of speculation.

[2] During the last two years the slate trade of the Principality has entered upon quite a new era, and, although the demand is still greatly in excess of the supply, yet the proportion between the yield of the quarries and the requirements of the buyer has been materially reduced. Formerly the slate quarries were entirely in the hands of a few capitalists and some of the wealthier landed proprietors, and the profits derived were unusually large. Once this fact became known to the public there was quite a mania for slate quarry investments, and, as might be naturally expected, disappointment was the result of many of these speculations, and in several instances an enormous capital was spent and no vein of slate discovered after all. Up to the present time out of the 40 quarries opened or recommenced during the last two years not more than one-fourth of the number return any profit, and the majority of the remainder are working at a loss. The quarries may be divided under two heads—viz., the true and the bastard, and the great mistake which has been made by speculators, or rather their advisers, is to confound the two descriptions. Bastard slates look well for a time, but they are soon affected by the action of the weather, and a practical eye is able to distinguish them without difficulty. This indicates the caution necessary in entering upon such speculations, for it is well known that companies are often got up for working quarries with no other object than to put money into the pockets of promoters, and with an utter disregard of the interest of those who may be induced to invest.—Ed. Camb. Jour.

The business of making slates is an exceedingly simple operation—one, however, which not the less demands from the workman no small amount of intelligence, exactness, and dexterity, besides a good deal of practical acquaintance with the nature of the materials with which he has to deal. It consists in detaching the slate formation in blocks from the mountain side; in sawing the blocks when thus detached into suitable sizes; lastly, in splitting and dressing, so as to bring them into proper shape—a process which is performed sometimes by machinery, but more generally by hand labour. It is to the industrial arrangements by which this operation is carried out that it is desired now to invite the reader's attention. They are as follow:—The portion of the slate which it is proposed to work is divided into sections carefully marked out, which are let out as "bargains" to as many small co-partneries, consisting generally of three or four working men. These co-partneries "contract" to produce slates—each from the section of the rock assigned to it—according to sizes and shapes, at so much per thousand. The men who take part directly in these contracts form, perhaps, a third of the whole quarrying population; they are, as might be expected, the older, more experienced, and better-of portion of it; the remainder are employed by them as labourers at fixed wages, under the name of "germyns," apparently the Welsh equivalent for "navvies." The capital employed in the undertaking is furnished principally by the proprietors or lessees, as the case may be, of the quarry; but a portion is also provided by the "contractors." Thus the former supply the larger and more expensive machinery, such as the tramways, waggons, steam-engine, if there be one, pumps, slate-saws and planes, &c., while the latter furnish the smaller tools, as well as the gunpowder used in blasting. The practice, moreover, being to pay wages monthly, this supposes, on the part of the workmen—unless so far as they may have recourse to the pernicious aid of the tally-shop—an amount of saving sufficient, at least, to support them during this interval

of delay. The relations of the actual workers having been established on this footing, and the contracts entered into, the functions of the principal capitalist or capitalists are thenceforward of an extremely limited kind; they consist chiefly in keeping the machinery in proper order, and seeing to the number and quality of the slates turned out. As for the rest—the plan of operations adopted, the distribution of the labour, its superintendence and reward—of all this the "contractors" undertake the sole and entire charge. It should be added that the "contracts" are supplemented by an understanding, doubtless originating in the felt necessity of mitigating for the working men the inevitable risks of such undertakings, to the effect that, where from the inferior quality of the rock, as ascertained on trial, the returns fall below a certain standard, the reduced earnings of the "contractors" shall be aided by a "poundage," or additional allowance, varying inversely with the amount of their gains. This poundage, so far as I could make out, though for the most part regulated by custom, is also in some degree discretionary on the part of the owner of the quarry, and is not the same for all districts. It applies. however, only to the less fortunate class of "bargains;" the better "bargains" are amply remunerated within the terms of the contract.

Such, in brief, are the arrangements under which industry in the Welsh slate quarries is carried on. I think it will be seen at once that this "contract system" constitutes a true case of "co-operation." It is at least certain that it fulfils what I venture to think are the most important conditions of that method of industry: there is associated effort; there is common interest in the results of the work; and these results depend, subject to the natural conditions of the case, and the customary qualification of the strict contract just indicated, directly on the energy, skill, and mutual good faith with which the workers perform their part. It has also been said that the "contractors" advance a portion of the capital; but I should not be disposed to attach much importance

to this as a distinctive feature of the "contract system;" for, though as a matter of fact the men who take part in contracts have generally accumulated some little capital, and though this circumstance no doubt facilitates in some degree their proceedings in carrying out the undertaking, still the possession of capital does not by any means constitute an indispensable condition to becoming a contractor, it being always easy for a man of good character to obtain the requisite tools and materials on credit from small shopkeepers established in the quarrying districts, and established chiefly with a view to supplying such needs. The only item of capital which in practice the contractor is in the habit of advancing is the money expended on his own support during the monthly interval that elapses before the returns to his industry come in; and, so far as this is concerned, the "germyn" whom he employs—a labourer at fixed wages—has an equally valid title to take rank as a capitalist; the earnings of the "germyn" being also postponed for the same period of time. The value of the experiment, therefore, and that which entitles it to be regarded as an example of "co-operative" industry, lies, in my opinion, in the other conditions to which I have referred—in the fact that the system enlists working men in a joint undertaking, of which the results for them depend in large part on the skill, energy, and conscientious zeal with which it is carried through.

And now let us endeavour to appreciate the bearing of these conditions on the well-being of the quarrying community. We shall consider in the first place the position of the contractor, who, as I have already said, represents about a third of the whole quarrying population. He will not, of course, for a moment be confounded with the important and generally wealthy personage by whom our railways and great public works are carried on. The latter, a capitalist pure and simple, has no other relations with the actual workers than that of paymaster. But the contractor of the slate quarries is himself a manual worker—generally, indeed, a skilled worker, taking to

himself the more difficult processes of the undertaking, but still in the strictest sense a working man—working in the same place, and often at the same operation, as the labourer whom he employs, and socially in no respect his superior. But, though a manual labourer, our contractor is also something very different from the ordinary labourer for hire. His remuneration is no fixed sum, but depends upon the success of his exertions, which he has therefore the strongest interest to increase to the utmost. Nor, again, is he to be confounded with the labourer at task-work. In the first place, the undertaking in which he embarks is of an altogether more important character than any that falls to the lot of the ordinary task-work labourer. Before he commits himself to his engagements, a calculation, not altogether free from complication—requiring, besides an acquaintance with arithmetic, and a tincture of mathematics, some practical knowledge of the different qualities of certain rocks—must be performed. Then the undertaking itself comprises several distinct operations—quarrying, cleaving, dressing—the carrying out of which, effectively and economically, calls for deliberation, forethought, and organising skill. Again, the contractor, while a labourer himself, is also a purchaser of the labours of others, holding towards his "germyn" the position of a capitalist proper, and is thus led to look at the business of production in some degree from the point of view of an employer—a circumstance which may go some way in accounting for the noteworthy fact, that in the districts of the slate quarries strikes are unknown.[3] Lastly, and to this I attach the greatest

[3] Since this article was written a strike, fortunately of short duration, has occurred at the Penrhyn slate quarries, in consequence of some misunderstanding touching the scale of wages, which had arisen between the men and their overlookers, that is, the English agents of the proprietor. English settlers in Wales make a great mistake by importing persons from England or Scotland to superintend the management of their estates and works, when competent native agents might be found. By the appointment of persons as stewards who are entirely ignorant of the country, the language, manners and prejudices of the native population, an estrangement is created between employer

importance of all, the contractor is a member of a partnership, acquiring rights and incurring responsibilities in relation to his fellow-contractors, taking part in their labours on equal terms, sharing their anxieties, and interested in common with them in the ultimate result of their common efforts.

But the influence of the arrangements I have described is not limited to the class which comes immediately under their operation. A circumstance which gives especial importance to the *status* of the contractor in the slate quarry is that, placed as nearly as possible midway between the position of the ordinary labourer and that of the capitalist pure and simple, it forms an easy stepping-stone for the elevation of the masses from the precarious position of dependence upon the general labour-market —a position which, if there be value in experience, is absolutely incompatible with any substantial and permanent improvement of their state.

The mode in which the ascent is made will be illustrated by a remark made to the writer by the lessee of the Dolwyddelan slate quarry—a gentleman to whose kindness he is indebted for most of the information contained in this paper. In reply to a question with reference to a difference in the rates of wages prevailing in different localities, he observed that the men before us would be very slow to leave their present occupation even for the prospect of a considerable advance in their wages— "because," he explained, pointing to a large quarry hole filled with water, "so soon as this is pumped dry, there is not a man amongst them who does not know that he will have a chance of a share in the new contracts which will then be opened." Thus the labourers who have not yet attained to the rank of contractors are ever working in full view of an early promotion to this position, their attainment of which, however, depends entirely on

and employed, which ought never to exist. Had the Penrhyn slate quarries been placed under the sole management of qualified native agents, it is confidently believed that no such strike as that to which we have alluded would have taken place.—Ed. Camb. Jour.

their success in recommending themselves to the favourable consideration of the owner of the quarry as well as to that—an equally important condition—of their own fellow-workmen, without whose approval and co-operation they would hope in vain to take advantage of the opportunities which are daily opening. Even the less important class of workmen, they who are employed in clearing away refuse, also pass occasionally into the ranks of the quarriers proper, and ultimately into those of the contractors, and thus feel in some degree the stimulus which such prospects supply. The whole society is thus kept constantly under the incentive of the public opinion of the *élite* among its own members—a state of things which serves to diffuse throughout the entire organization an influence of the healthiest kind.

Nor has the beneficient tendency of these arrangements failed to become effectual in the actual condition of the population of the slate quarries. Their ordinary earnings, according to information supplied to me from various sources, may be set down as follows :—

For carters of refuse from 12s. to 17s. per week.

For "germyns" (quarriers at fixed wages, many of whom are mere boys), 12s. to 20s. per week.

In the case of the contractors the variations are much more considerable; the results ranging from £3 to £8, and occasionally to £10 per month. In a small quarry near Dolwyddelan which I visited, three contractors had just concluded a "bargain," in which they had netted for the month of July the sum of £9 each. On the whole, so far as I could make out, the earnings of the contractors average something like £5 monthly.

These rates are, I should suppose, about equal to those prevailing in corresponding occupations—I mean occupations in which the toil, risk, and skill are about the same—in the most favoured industrial districts in England; and such a result is surely very creditable to the industrial system of Wales. For it must be remembered that capital is very far from increasing with the same rapidity in Caernarvonshire and Merionethshire as

in, say, Lancashire[4] and Staffordshire; while, on the other hand, owing to the general ignorance of the English language which prevails in the former counties —a circumstance which cannot but operate in some degree as an impediment to emigration[5]—the relief afforded by this safety-valve to the labour market there, is likely to be considerably less than in other portions of the United Kingdom. The external conditions affecting wages in the Welsh counties are therefore decidedly less favourable than they are in the more progressive districts of England; and yet the labouring classes in the former localities are, it seems, comparing analogous modes of labour, equally well off. The explanation, as will be anticipated, is to be found in the slower movements of population in the Welsh districts. In Caernarvonshire population advanced in the decade, 1851 to 1861, at the rate of 9 per cent.; in Merionethshire at the rate of 3 per cent.; in both counties at an average rate of 6 per cent.; while over the whole of England and Wales population during the same period went forward at the average rate of 12 per cent., and in the more prosperous parts of the country—say Lancashire and Staffordshire—at the rates respectively of 20 per cent. and 23 per cent.[6]

[4] The employment of the masses of the inhabitants in Lancashire is not a parallel case.—Ed. Camb. Jour.

[5] Ignorance of the English language cannot impede emigration to America, where there are thousands of Welshmen who speak their own vernacular; and even in Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and London, vast numbers are to be found who possess little or no acquaintance with any language except the Cymraeg.—Ed. Camb. Jour.

[6] I do not give these figures as accurate exponents of the relative growth (by way of natural increase) of population in the several districts. No doubt the results in all instances have been much modified both by emigration and by migration within the limits of Great Britain. So far as the former cause is concerned, the probability is, for the reason stated, that, could its effect be ascertained (unfortunately the emigration reports do not distinguish the natives of Wales), the result would be considerably to strengthen my case. And, as regards the latter, though there is no doubt a considerable Welsh movement towards the manufacturing centres of England, this proceeds in the main from the agricultural districts; while, to be set against this, there is an Irish immigration into Wales. On the whole,

The comparatively slow growth of capital in those counties of North Wales is thus, as regards its effect on the condition of the people, neutralized by a growth of population proportionately slow; and the practical result is a rate of remuneration fully up to the English level. The defect in respect to material conditions is compensated by greater vigour in the moral. Now, I think it is impossible not to connect this satisfactory state of things with the *régime* of industry under which it has come to pass. Indeed, to what else can it be ascribed? Religious influences, no doubt, are powerful in North Wales. Nothing apparently can exceed the activity and zeal of the dissenting bodies; and the good effect on the morals and general demeanour of the people is very observable. But, however compatible a strong sense of religion may be with worldly prudence in those matters on which the growth of population depends, the mundane virtue can yet scarcely be regarded as a specific religious result: certainly it is not one which it is usual to hear inculcated from the pulpit. Nor can the fact be attributed to education in the ordinary sense of the word; for, notwithstanding the strongly pronounced literary instincts of the Welsh people, literary education in North Wales seems to be in a decidedly backward state. Improvements, it is said, of an important kind have in recent years been effected in the primary schools; but this has occurred since the mass of the present generation of Welshmen have entered upon active life. It is rare, out of the principal towns, to find working people over the age of thirty who can exchange more than a few words of English: hundreds of thousands cannot accomplish even this little; and even in the towns it is not uncommon to meet substantial shopkeepers who are unable to sign their names to their own bills. In one quarry I was told that some considerable number of the

I think the figures I have given may be accepted for the purpose for which they are adduced, as corroborative illustrations of tendencies which there are independent grounds for believing to exist.

workmen were unable to read and write.[7] It is therefore not to the superiority of their school instruction that the industrial population of these Welsh counties are indebted for the remarkable circumspection and self-control which they display in their most important social relations. I can only regard this phenomenon, therefore, as the fruit of that practical training in habits of thrift and wise foresight which is provided for them in the industrial system under which they live.[8]

It thus appears that, in point of pecuniary returns, the position of the Welsh quarriers does not suffer by comparison with that of workmen in analogous occupations even in the most prosperous districts of England—districts far more favourably circumstanced, as regards the physical conditions affecting the remuneration of the labourer, than those of the slate quarries. But mere pecuniary return affords after all but an inadequate criterion of the labourer's condition. Fully as important as the amount which he earns is the mode in which his earnings are spent; and it his here that the peculiar strength of the co-operative principle comes into play. Those who have watched the working of "co-operative stores" have been struck with their effect in awakening and stimulating the saving spirit among the working classes—a result which has been attributed to the strong temptations to frugality presented by those establishments in the opportunities they afford for investing small sums at a fair rate of profit. In the particular form of co-operation, however, to which I have in this paper called attention, this incident of the co-operative plan such as it

[7] This must refer to their inability to read and write English, since there are very few Welshmen of the present day, even among the operative class, who cannot read and write their own beloved language. —Ed. Camb. Jour.

[8] It is a well-known fact that the quarrymen with their families form a superior class of operatives, and one in which they themselves have a natural pride. They are in fact second to none in the United Kingdom who are engaged in manual labour, as regards intelligence, probity of conduct, industrial habits, steady and respectful demeanour. —Ed. Camb. Jour.

exists elsewhere—the provision, that is to say, for small investments—does not exist. As I have already intimated, to qualify a man for taking part in a "bargain," no capital is needed beyond the moral capital of a good character. Even should he be in a position to decline the credit which is readily extended to him, the amount required for the purchase of such implements and tools as it falls to his share of the bargain to provide would be exceedingly small. Nor does he find in the other branches of industry flourishing around him those special opportunities which are wanting in his own. Co-operative stores have indeed, as I have been informed, been established in one or two localities in North Wales, and with excellent results; but they do not yet exist on such a scale that they can be supposed to have sensibly affected the habits of the people. As regards the larger operations of slate quarrying, they are, as it happens, peculiarly unsuited as a field for small investments. This will at once be understood if regard be had to what has been already stated—that the amount of capital required to start a slate quarry is very large, while the risk of the speculation is very great. The former obstacle might indeed be overcome by recourse to the joint stock expedient, were the joint stock plan capable of being applied with advantage to this branch of production; but this seems not to be the case: at least, so think the working quarriers, and their opinion seems to be borne out by facts.[9] In the case of the population

[9] Numerous joint stock companies are at present working quarries in North Wales; but, as a rule, I understand they are not flourishing concerns; all the most prosperous undertakings being in the hands of individuals or private co-partneries. The reasons for the superiority of the latter are apparent enough. There is no need that the business organization of such an undertaking should be other than extremely simple. In Penrhyn quarry, for example, where the operations are on an immense scale, the entire business of keeping the accounts, &c., is performed by two clerks. This cannot but give a great advantage to individuals and small co-partneries over the necessarily more cumbrous organization of a joint stock company. Again, the special knowledge and singleness of design which are so essential in this

of the slate quarries, therefore, there seems to be an entire absence of those special incentives to frugality and providence which have been incidents of the co-operative plan in its better known forms. Nevertheless frugality and providence are found to characterise this population in a remarkable degree. The mere fact that, according to the prevailing custom, wages are paid at so long an interval as once a month, implies of itself a considerable fund of accumulated saving existing among the body of the people. But this would give but an inadequate idea of their saving disposition. It is, I am assured, quite common to find in the ranks of the contractors men who have laid by from one to three and four hundred pounds. In one quarry which I visited, a man was pointed out to me—a manual labourer—who was known to be in receipt of between £80 and £100 a year, independently altogether of his current earnings—the return on capital saved and invested. This, no doubt, was an extraordinary case, but not, I was assured, by any means without a parallel. Well, where is the field for the investment of these considerable accumulations? A portion goes into agriculture; prosperous quarrymen turning farmers in their latter days, or sometimes combining with farming pursuits occasional adventures in their old line. Retail trade again absorbs some. But probably the largest part of the funds finds its way into the associations known as "building societies." These "building so-

branch of industry are much more likely to be realized by individuals, or associations consisting of a few partners, than by a more numerous body. In addition to the reasons mentioned in the text, it is probable that some distrust[1] of the Saxon enters into the Welsh workman's reluctance to commit his savings to undertakings which are carried on largely by Saxon capital: this seems to be expressed in his proverb: —"Os byth y gweli Sais ac engine yn dyfod i'r gwaith pacia dy bethau." [When you see an Englishman with his engine coming to the work, pack and be off.]

[1] It is not to be wondered at that a feeling of distrust of the Saxon should be found to exist among Welshmen after witnessing the ruinous results of the numerous fictitious schemes which during the last few years have been started by Englishmen in various parts of the kingdom.—Ed. Camb. Jour.

cieties" might with more propriety be called loan societies; their functions consisting in advancing money to be invested in building speculations, which, though for the most part undertaken by the members, are yet carried on on individual account, resembling in this respect the "Verschussvereine" described by Professor Huber in his interesting paper on "Co-operation."[2] These societies are extremely popular with the workmen; and as to the range of their operations the reader will be able to form some notion when I state that several considerable towns in North Wales have been almost entirely built by the capital supplied through this agency. Thus the pretty town of Bethesda, within five miles of Bangor, is almost entirely the creation of the enterprise of working men deriving their funds from this source. Llandudno, Rhyl and Upper Bangor owe their existence in large part to the same cause. As to the substantial comfort in which the people of the quarry districts live, no one who has visited these districts will, I think, feel any doubt. Nor is it comfort merely. The style and finish of the workmen's houses are very remarkable, more particularly in Bethesda and the neighbourhood of the Penrhyn quarries, where the elegant model furnished by Colonel Pennant in his own village has been turned to excellent account. A feature in the architecture is the variety of modes in which the staple material is brought into requisition. Roofing is but a small part of the purposes to which the slate is applied: there are slate door-posts, slate window-settings; the ground story is generally flagged with slate, which makes its appearance besides in many places where one would little expect to find it. I know not whether the extreme cleanliness of the Welsh is to be attributed in any degree to the advantages of this material; but they are certainly pre-eminent in this virtue. The exquisite neatness of some of the cottages in Bethesda and Trefriw is such as I imagine would not easily be matched out of Holland.

[2] Published in the "Social Science Transactions" for 1862.

The kitchen-parlour is quite a marvel of cleanliness, tidiness and order—with its slate floor swept till it shines, its "varnished clock" clicking "behind the door," and its furniture, though mostly made of common wood, polished to such brightness that it does not pale even before the constellations of brass knobs which glitter all around. In the village where I was staying I have watched an old woman who lived on the opposite side of the street come out in showery weather to scrub her door-slab clean as fast as it was soiled by the footsteps of each careless passer-by. The apparition would follow on the clearing away of a shower almost with the regularity of the lady in the toy barometer. Nor should we omit to say that some attempt at a library is rarely absent from these quarriers' cottages. The selection may not contain the newest publications, and is not perhaps very choice; but at least it shows literary aspirations—a soul for something above the quarry. The Bible, generally in Welsh, I observed held a constant and honoured place in the literary store.

The simplicity of character and kindness of heart among the poorer classes of Welsh people are very striking and attractive. In illustration of these qualities I may mention an admirable trait, which may I think be fairly connected with their co-operative system.

The occupations of the slate quarry involve, as may readily be believed, no small amount of risk to the limbs and lives of those who engage in them; the accidents from blasting, falling in of rocks, &c., being unfortunately very numerous, and frequently fatal; and, as might be expected, there is no lack of provision against such disastrous contingencies. Besides the ordinary friendly societies which flourish in immense numbers all over the country, no quarry of any importance is without its sick club. Numerous associations exist framed with a special view to compensate for the losses incident to mutilation and death. But such machinery does not satisfy the cravings of the fraternal feeling that subsists among the workmen. The assistance from this source

(where the accidents are of a serious nature, involving calamitous consequences to the family of the injured man) is almost invariably supplemented by voluntary contributions raised among his fellow-workmen. "As a class," writes a correspondent, himself extensively engaged in this business, to whom I have already expressed my obligations, "As a class, quarriers are very liberal. If by accident a father of a family is killed, the wife will go through the quarry and frequently gets (if her husband has been a man of good character) from £10 to £20. At other times collections are made in the chapels, and almost in every instance they show great liberality." He adds that these occurrences are unfortunately very frequent; several such calls on the workman's pocket having quite recently occurred in a single quarry in the short space of a few months.

Such then is the "contract system" of the slate quarries, and such are its fruits. Divested as it is of certain extraneous advantages which accompany other forms of "co-operation," it sets, as it seems to me, in all the stronger light the inherent virtue of the principle itself—the principle of combining the exertions of labourers towards a common result in which they have a joint interest—an interest varying with the success of their common efforts. The results here obtained are obtained not so much through the increased force of the external inducements to prudent or righteous conduct, as by strengthening the character of the workman, calling into action qualities of mind which in the ordinary condition of the labourer's life lie dormant, enlarging his mental horizon, stimulating his reflective powers, widening his sympathies—in a word, developing those principles and habits which furnish the only solid basis for any permanent improvement of his state.

How far the particular arrangement which I have described admits of being extended to other departments of production is what actual experiment can alone determine. *Primâ facie*, it would seem that one condition only was indispensable to its adoption—the possi-

bility of splitting up the work to be done into a number of small and independent tasks. It is at all events certain that the success of the plan in the instances in which it has been tried has been remarkably great; and this, considered with reference to commercial, no less than to social results. As an expedient for the practical solution of the labour-problem, the weakness of the "contract system" seems to me to lie in the fact that under it the labourer and the capitalist are still distinct persons; the two capacities do not coalesce in the same man. The difficulty which, under the ordinary relations of labour and capital, occurs in settling the rate of wages might equally occur under the "contract system" in settling the terms of the contract. That it does not in practice arise is to be ascribed, I imagine, chiefly to the circumstance to which I have already adverted—the double capacity in which the contractor acts, as at once employer and employed; and, for the rest, to the general intelligence which the system engenders.

AB ITHEL.

Ab Ithel had always at heart the interests of the National Eisteddfod which he had done so much to revive, and during the closing years of his life he was often occupied with plans for enlarging its influence and recording its transactions. He established a magazine in the Welsh language bearing the name of *Taliesin*, and the triadic motto "Tri pheth y dylai Cymro ei garu o flaen dim; Cenedl y Cymry; Defodau a Moesau y Cymry; ac Iaith y Cymry." This serial appeared for the first time in May, 1859, published by Mr. Isaac Clarke, of Ruthin, to whose spirit and sagacity Cambrian literature is much indebted. It continued to appear quarterly until the death of its Editor, and it well answered the end proposed as the depository of the best

speeches and poems of contemporary Eisteddfodau, and as a clever indicator to the Welsh-speaking people of the position and claims of their mother-tongue.

Many rising young authors have been fittingly recommended to their countrymen by *Taliesin*, and valuable additions have been made in its pages to the stock of Welsh secular knowledge. It is to be desired that the present managers of the Eisteddfod will maintain some kindred serial devoted to these important objects.

Ab Ithel attended with his family the Eisteddfod held at Denbigh in 1860. This meeting afforded in some points a marked contrast to his own of Llangollen which it succeeded. It was conceived in a different spirit, and conducted on a different plan. All Druidic and Bardic dresses and symbols were studiously avoided. There was a larger attendance of the leading families of the district. Less prominence was given to the literati of Wales, and more consideration paid to patrons and visitors. The prize programme was not so varied or so important, and this Eisteddfod did not produce literary compositions of conspicuous merit, nor did it please the people in the same degree as did that of Llangollen. It was, however, at the Denbigh meeting that the movement for the permanent institution of the Eisteddfod, which had been only suggested at Llangollen, was fully initiated; and very great credit is due to the bards Creuddynfab, Glan Alun, Clwydfardd and others for their exertions. A good feature too at Denbigh was the Archæological Section, which was attended by several ripe Celtic scholars, of whom the most active and eloquent was Professor William Rushton, M.A., of Queen's College, Cork, a gentleman possessing a remarkable faculty for acquiring Celtic idioms, and distinguished alike by his energetic industry in the field of British philology, and by his excellent practical talent of arranging and applying his knowledge. Professor Rushton advocated the formation of a society for the advancement of Cambrian science and art, and detailed numerous objects as proper to be pursued by the society.

Resolutions affirming this policy were adopted, and a committee of the chief scholars, with Ab Ithel at their head, was appointed to give effect to the project.

We are not aware that anything more has been effected. Some indeed of the objects named for this new society are identical with those of existing societies, but undoubtedly it is most desirable to have one strong central Association well instituted, well supported, and well managed, which should embrace all the scattered elements, and reconcile all the antagonistic interests in the various Celtic families. The undertakings hitherto ventured in the name of Wales can hardly be said to have made a permanent mark on her literature, or secured the sympathy of her sons, or won the respect of her neighbours. Local bodies take the place of national bodies. Time and talents are frittered away in obscure directions, while the splendid opportunity is disregarded —an opportunity impossible to England—of forming a society like the Irish Society of Dublin, but of still more ample scope, which should unite the best Cymric names everywhere, clearly define what there is to accomplish, and boldly accomplish what is desired. But we have before spoken of this. Wales must wait for her Institute. Perhaps the typical Society may be unattainable, yet *Nil ergo optabunt homines?*

Ab Ithel took no part in the proceedings of the Denbigh Eisteddfod, except in the archæological section, of which he was president. The president of the Eisteddfod was Sir Watkin Williams Wynn. The managers were Talhaiarn and Clwyddfardd, *i. e.*, Mr. John Jones and Mr. David Griffith, both being pleasing poets. Talhaiarn expressed sentiments very honourable to him when, at this Denbigh Meeting, he referred to Ab Ithel, as will be seen in the following extract from a local newspaper:—

Talhaiarn said he had been requested to ask Ab Ithel to allow one of his daughters to invest the successful leader (Thomas Roberts) with his prize.[1] All knew that Ab Ithel is

[1] In the choral competition, won by the Denbigh Choir.

patriotic to the backbone, a really good and sterling Welshman; and although he and Mr. Williams did not agree upon all points, there was no reason why they should differ there. There was a broad open platform where good fellowship, good will, love and truth, alone prevail; and these he felt would outlive all minor differences. He was sure such was also the heartfelt feeling of Ab Ithel. He begged to invite Miss Williams to ascend the platform, when the young lady, who was dressed in Welsh costume, rose from her father's side, and gracefully made the investiture.

We have before spoken of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, published in 1860, and of the hostile criticism which, together with the *Annales Cambriæ*, it provoked from the English press. Ab Ithel was very sensitive to reviews, and suffered too acutely from the professional captiousness and sarcasm which he had to encounter. Yet even in England there was an occasional article written in an unbiassed spirit, and with some external knowledge of the subject, as in the case of the *Critic*. But the chief compensations of Ab Ithel in this respect arose from the favourable opinions of private scholars and antiquaries, who could understand the difficulties, and appreciate the value, of the task. Sir Thomas Phillipps, for instance, writes under date 8th April, 1860, "I am delighted with your new *Brut y Tywysogion*. It gives me more accurate ideas of the History of Wales than I had before."

Sir Thomas Phillipps proposed to Ab Ithel, in 1861, to undertake an edition of the life of Gruffydd ap Cynan,[2] Prince of North Wales (Vita Griffini ab Conan), from an old manuscript in his possession; as also of the *Rotuli Walliæ*.

The first work would cover the longest reign, save two,[3] in Welsh annals (58 years), and do justice to a prince as famed for his successful wars with the Normans, as for his reformation of the law, and his encouragement of music and song; and the *Rotuli* would yield very interesting particulars of the last wars of Llywelyn, the

[2] A.D. 1079 to 1136 or 1137. He was succeeded by his son Owain Gwynedd, also a distinguished name in Welsh history.

[3] That of Cynan Tindaethwy, and that of Morgan Hen.

lineal descendant of Gruffydd ap Cynan. Ab Ithel entertained the intention of taking up the Life of Gruffydd, but he was never able to commence it.

In this year (1861) during the height of the Rifle Corps movement, a Welsh company of volunteers was formed in London, and the question of a fit uniform was discussed. It was decided by the majority of the volunteers who were either not Welsh, or were careless of their nationality, that the Quaker drab or grey was the best colour for the corps.

No doubt that this decision was arrived at on military grounds, but it implied little affection for the old costume of Welsh soldiers, and accordingly a good deal of indignant representation was published by the patriotic party. Ab Ithel, whose son was then in London, and a volunteer, found time to address to Mr. William Griffith, of London, the following characteristic letter, which was printed in the *Carnarvon Herald*:—

Llanymowddy Rectory, Feb. 11, 1861.

My dear Sir,—I was much grieved to learn from the report in the papers that at the last meeting of the London Welsh Rifle Corps the majority was opposed to the national costume, and showed a preference for a "quiet, Quaker-like drab." This is quite incomprehensible; for it has always been understood that a gay uniform acted as a charm to attract many young men to the army. How is it that in this case it is not equally operative? or, to say the least, how is it that men spurn it when it is offered to their choice? The report assigns no reasons, but it implies two, which, I am sorry to say, are anything but favourable to the character of the "majority" in question. 1. *Cowardice.* They think, forsooth, that the uniform will be "too conspicuous." If they think so, they are certainly afraid. Is this worthy of the descendants of ancient Britons? Nay, our ancestors gloried in fighting on the open plain. When the Romans accused the Cymry of lurking and hiding themselves in their woods, and therefore of being inaccessible to their weapons, how did the latter meet the charge? Why, "they burned all the woods from the shore of the Severn to the extremities of the Vale of Towy, as far as the territories of Caradog and his Cymry extended, without leaving a sprig upon which the smallest gnat could alight, to rest from the heat on a long summer day." Too

conspicuous, indeed! Did Llywelyn and his men deem themselves too conspicuous, of whom it is said,—

"Gwyr tal yn ei ganlyn,
Mil myrdd mewn *gwyrdd* a *gwyn?*"

I am thoroughly ashamed of such a plea, and every true Welshman ought to be ashamed too.

The report goes on, "Some were *afraid* that if they adopted it, they might be called the 'jolly green' volunteers." *Afraid*, again! Welsh heroes afraid of a joke! How will they encounter what may prove "no joke"—the approach of a foreign enemy? I suppose these men will not venture to defend their *green* fields, for fear they should be identified with them in name and colour, and be sneered at as "jolly green volunteers." But what is there despicable in the hue? Is not the youngest and most beautiful of the seasons—spring—green? And is not everything of a progressive character green? Youth, vigour, life, immortality, they are all green—the last named "evergreen." Nay, of all colours give me green as the most beautiful hue in nature, and symbolical of all that is most desirable.

2. Want of nationality. This is evident, because they despise the national costume, and prefer the garb of that anti-national party—the Quakers. As far as these men are concerned, there was no occasion for a distinct Welsh Corps in London. They might very easily have joined some of the English Companies, and there sunk their nationality, of which they are clearly ashamed. Indeed of what use will this additional Corps be, as long as there is nothing distinctive about it—save an empty name—to call forth the *esprit de corps?* Nothing can be more despicable than a man who loves not his native land. It is very well to say, that we are as one now with the English. If that be so, let the Welsh Corps be at once disbanded, and the members drafted into other companies. But the very fact of a Welsh Corps having been formed in London, bears witness to the existence of a Welsh nationality, and if this fact admits the existence of a distinct blood and language, why not take in also our costume? All these are our inheritance, having come down to us from a race of people of whom we ought to be proud—a people who have imparted a tone to our English institutions in a greater degree than is generally supposed. No, my dear Sir, rather than give up this point of dress, I would strongly counsel you to secede, and form a separate corps, or rather, perhaps, I should say, to maintain your ground, and let the malcontents secede, if they like. For I believe that most of the hon. members subscribed on the understanding that the dress, of which a sketch or description was shown in the room, was to form the basis of

the uniform. I know of some who will withdraw their support if the national costume is to be abandoned. I know not the exact description of your dress, but I presume that its general features are national. Whether the scarlet is so in anything but colour, I have no means of ascertaining. Scarlet is decidedly Welsh, and I should like to see a good admixture of this introtroduced into your dress—the primitive shape being preserved. Could not the scarlet and green parties unite, with the view of fixing upon a new dress, combined of green, scarlet, and white —a strict regard being had to the old shape—the loose blouse, &c. There is nothing whatever national in the Quaker drab, therefore away with it!

I understood you to say some time ago that there would be two Welsh companies formed—one to appear in the national uniform—the other in any guise they pleased. I do hope, therefore, that if the national party find themselves in a minority on this subject of dress, they will maintain their ground, and form the nucleus of an independent corps. There are scores of young men already in London, and continually coming up, who will soon swell it into a respectable troop. If you keep firm on this point you will have the sympathy and support of the patriotic party in Wales, and this party is stronger and more numerous than you may imagine. If you yield, and allow the Quakers to have it all their own way, of course we will have nothing to say to the so-called "London Welsh Rifle Volunteers."

Believe me, my dear Sir,
Yours very truly,
AB ITHEL.

W. Griffith, Esq.

About this time Dr. Smith was beginning the preparations for his *Biographica Britannica*, a work of considerable magnitude, on the plan of his Classical Dictionaries, and it was suggested to him by Professor Rushton, that the co-operation of Ab Ithel should be secured for at least some of the Welsh, or rather British articles. Very much indeed remains to be done in the proper elucidation of Cymric biography and history. What has already been done best is the work of the Germans. The thoroughness of treatment, the earnestness of purpose, the depth of learning, and the catholicity of spirit which these great writers display in their Celtic studies, are truly remarkable, and have laid a debt of gratitude on our own scholars, who may at least appre-

ciate what they will not imitate. Professor Rushton, in a letter to Ab Ithel, on the 18th June, 1861, well writes on this subject:—

I have just been reading Walter *(Das alte Wales)* on the sources of Cymric history, and I feel almost surprised that a German should take so conservative a view as he does. He quotes Sharon Turner's *Vindication* with marked approval, (as far as I have read,) and on the other hand criticises Mr. Thomas Stephens somewhat sharply. It will be necessary to "provoke the English scholars to love and good works," by holding up the example of the Germans. I told Dr. Smith that it would be shameful indeed if Britons had to go to Germany for a history of their own country. As it is, the Germans take a distinguished part in historical and philosophical criticism, and there are men among ourselves who are labouring in the same departments, "sed *illis* creditur," as Juvenal has it. They have managed to gain the ear of Europe, and if we can operate through them, we may promote our own cause.

Ab Ithel's course of life at Llanymowddwy was varied by occasional visits of friends, and by occasional excursions to the houses of his relatives,[3] or to patriotic gatherings in various parts of Wales. These, however, were not frequent. He loved most to climb the hills, and pace the fields of his own parish, and there was a close harmony between his favourite studies and the scenery in which they were set.

To use his daughter's words:—"He had all the Welshman's love for the wonderful, and dearly loved the wild legendary stories of his native land. He was much against such opinions as *Essays and Reviews*. He always said, 'Better believe too much than believe too little.'" But it is to be remembered that no man had firmer common sense, or sounder views of life; and he never suffered his opinions, however speculative or credulous, to embarrass his judgment, or to impede his work. The writer has a vivid recollection of a morning spent with him in an ascent of Aran Vowddwy, when a

[3] Especially to Llwyn, near Dolgelly, which he delighted to visit, for the beauty of its situation and the romantic legends connected with it.

light fall of snow crisped the hillside, and garlanded the evergreen branches. The talk had been of ordinary things locally suggested, as of names, climate, fishing, geology, and botany. Thence it rose to clerical work, and the Welsh peasantry; and when the soft peatland ending at Dyrysgol had been crossed, and they crested Drws bach, that narrowest of saddles or straitest of gates, which looks on the silent dell of Hengwm, a thousand feet below, the themes were Abred, and Gwynfyd, and Ceugant, and Eneid-Vaddeu—dark things of Druidism, and yet pregnant with sublime suggestions and universal truths. And now the cold clinging mist fell around them, and they passed silent and doubtfully over the new fallen snow, until the notable memorial stones circling the head of Aran loomed large above; and of these, and of the *meinihirion* and *cylchau* of "Cymru Carneddawg," Ab Ithel had much to tell. And thus, with many an intermingled thought and word of affection for the dear friends who waited their return in the ivy-clothed cottage far beneath their feet, they spent a day of Christmas-tide on the mountain of which Ab Ithel seemed peculiarly the genius and the child.

The year 1861 was again an era for Eisteddfodau. One took place at Conway, and one at Aberdare. The latter is said to to have erred on the side of "social science," and to have given scant satisfaction to the patriotic party, and to visitors from England. The former, held in the beautiful ruins of Conway Castle, was more distinctly national, and aimed less at the functions of a Mechanics' Institute. Ab Ithel attended this Eisteddfod with his family, and took part in the proceedings, contributing a short but excellent Welsh speech on the history and topography of that division of Gwynedd, and on the secular endurance of the popular tongue.[4] He also acted as adjudicator for certain prize subjects. This visit much amused and stimulated him, and benefited his failing health. He met on the banks

[4] See Cambrian Journal, vol. 1861, page 216.

of the Cynwy several old family and bardic friends, and acquired some very estimable new ones, as the kind and good Vicar of Conway (Rev. M. Morgan), and his son, George Osborne Morgan, Esq., of London, who was President of the Eisteddfod, and whose inaugural speech was as fine a piece of declamation as could be desired. Here, too, he met the celebrated historian, Henri Martin, who was visiting the country with the view of making researches into the British portion of Celtic history, of which he proposed to treat in his forthcoming voluminous *Histoire de France*. M. Martin, friend of Pictet and of Villemarqué, felt especially interested in *Barddas*, then on the eve of publication, and his brief conference with Ab Ithel gave him unfeigned pleasure. His letters on this subject will be noticed by-and-bye.

It was determined at the Conway Eisteddfod by the assembled bards to present Ab Ithel with the truly national gift of a Hirlas Horn, suitably mounted and inscribed. It was not, however, ready for presentation until Ab Ithel had ceased to exist, when it was offered to his widow with expressions of deep condolence.

The Hirlas (*hir*, long, *glas*, blue), is well known in song, as the vessel from which in princes' halls heroes quaffed the "yellow sweet ensnaring mead," as Aneurin tells.[5] It was a badge of honour and of mirth at feasts; a token of distinction; an honourable gift; the horn of wild oxen, transparent, covered with gold, silver-tipped, and with a cover of silver; whose gloss is like the wave of the sea; whose green handles show the skill of the artist, and are tipped with gold.

We quote from the fine poem of Owain Cyveiliog, Prince of Powys in the twelfth century, on the Hirlas used in his palace, and which he had taken from Rhys, Prince of South Wales.[6]

After a week spent in most agreeable social and

[5] Med evynt melyn, melys, maglawr,—*Gododin* (Ab Ithel), line 92.

[6] "Gwawr pan ddwyre gawr a ddoded." Evans' *Specimens*, p. 109. There is a spirited poem by Mrs. Hemans on the azure horn.

intellectual intercourse, Ab Ithel returned to resume his solitary studies.

He attended, before the year closed, another patriotic gathering—one of a character perhaps dearer to him than even an Eisteddfod—the literary meeting at Llanfair Caereinion, in Montgomeryshire, of the newly formed Society of Cymreigyddion of Powys, held for the discussion of old manuscripts and books, and of projects in any way promotive of the national honour, and conservative of the national tongue. At this meeting were exhibited some interesting transcriptions from the poets of the Welsh Augustan age; some energetic speeches were made, and practical resolutions passed, of which one referred to the long talked of monument to Llywelyn.

Ab Ithel spoke well on all these subjects, and with regard to the monument proposed that one hundred persons should volunteer £5 each. It is added in the report of the proceedings that several members agreed to this plan, and that the society supported the movement. But the results were what they have always been, however varied the places, the speakers and the speeches. "Llywelyn ein Llyw olaf" is still uncommemorated, but while his character remains in strong contrast to that of his countrymen of this century, he needs no monument to distinguish him, and indeed is more honoured by neglect and silence, than by loquacity of the platform and reticence of the purse.

In this year (1861) Ab Ithel edited, for the Welsh Manuscript Society, the *Meddygon Myddfai*, or Physicians of Myddvai, with an English translation by Mr. John Pugh, of Penhelyg, Aberdovey. This curious work is described in the title-page as "The Medical Practice of the celebrated Rhiwallon and his sons, of Myddvai, in Caermarthenshire, Physicians to Rhys Gryg, Lord of Dynevor and Ystrad Towy, about the middle of the thirteenth century; from ancient MSS. in the libraries of Jesus College, Oxford, Llanover, and Tonn; with an English translation; and the legend of the Lady of Llyn y Van."

It consists of two principal portions:—

1. The Welsh text of 188 medical recipes, directions and apothegms.

The English translation of these.

2. The Welsh text of 815 similar articles.

An alphabetical list of herbs in the Latin names, with Welsh equivalents.

The Welsh text of a list of weights and measures; of things useful to be known by a physician, and of the essentials and characteristics of a physician.

The English translation of these, except as regards the herbs.

The original manuscript containing the first portion is supposed to be that now in the British Museum. The copy used for the work under notice is from the Red Book in Jesus College, Oxford. This copy was collated with a transcript of another copy in the possession of Mr. Rees, of Tonn, near Llandovery, which is itself a transcript made about 1766, by William Bona, from an older copy belonging to Iago ap Dewi.

The second portion of the work is accounted for in the following certificates appended to it:—

"I, Howel the Physician, the son of Rhys, the son of Llywelyn, the son of Philip the Physician, have selected this Book of Medicine from the authorized old books of the original Physicians of Myddvai, even Rhiwallon the Physician, and his three sons, Cadwgan, Gruffudd and Einion, and the other Physicians, their sons and descendants who succeeded them."

"And I, Howel the Physician, am regularly descended in the male line from the said Einion the son of Rhiwallon the Physician of Myddvai, being resident in Cilgwryd in Gower. May the grace and blessing of God attend this Book, and him who studies it as a directory of the art, for the love of God, and the health of the diseased and maimed! Amen. With God's help even so let it be!"

"I, William Bona, have transcribed this work from the book of John Jones, the Physician of Myddvai, who was the last of the descendants of the Physicians of Myddvai, Anno Christi 1743."

"And I, Iolo Morganwg, have re-written the same carefully from the book of the above William Bona, now in the possession

of Thomas Bona, Physician, of the parish of Llanfihangel Iorwerth, in the County of Caermarthen, in the year 1801; and with old Howel the Physician I say, the Grace of God attend it!"

Ab Ithel has furnished a valuable preface, giving, in addition to these particulars, a sketch of the state of herbal medicine among the early Cymry, and an account of the fragments of medical precepts and prescriptions not comprised in the Meddygon Myddvai. He has edited the text with his usual careful scrutiny, collating in the first portion the reading of the Red Book of Hergest with that of the Tonn manuscript.

The prescriptions of the Meddygon Myddvai amply reflect the superstition, while they illustrate the knowledge, of our ancestors of the Middle Ages. The collection mainly depends on a pharmacopeia of herbs and flowers, varied by animal preparations, and applied often according to days and seasons, and with cabalistic charms.

The range of the diseases and ailments thus treated is very extensive, including at least as many as are said to be vanquished by the pills of Holloway, or the globules of Hahnemann. There are also many instructions for surgical operations, and remedies for sudden accidents. Unquestionably many of these old recipes are valuable *formâ ipsâ*, or contain suggestions of value, although a large number also, whether with the gloss *probitum est* or not, fitly emanate from ages which we, in our excess of light, are wont to designate *dark*. The old physicians practised bleeding freely and even judiciously, though they paid an excessive attention to weather and the almanack; and they had a fair knowledge of the leading drugs in modern use, though herbalism was their great principle.[7]

Let us look at a few of the curious prescriptions and medical maxims of the Meddygon, taking first those unaffected by magic or superstition.

[7] *E. g.*, Mr. Pugh says that they of Myddvai anticipated the liquid laudanum of Sydenham, and used antimonial ointment and wine.

"There are seven things hostile to the eye: weeping, watching, feasting, drunkenness, impurity, a dry film, and smoke."—(p. 50.)

Of this, *probatum est* may surely be put without fear of contradiction. And so in a great measure of the following:—

Things that are useful for the brain.

"Smelling musk and camomile, drinking wine moderately, eating the leaves of sage frequently, keeping the head warm, washing the hands frequently, walking moderately, sleeping moderately, listening frequently to a little music and singing, *smelling red roses*, washing the eyebrows with rosewater, drinking water in going to sleep, reading a little before going to sleep, and light diet."—(p. 361.)

Things that are hurtful to the brain.

"For all brains the following things are hurtful: gluttony, drunkenness, late eating, much sleeping after food, tainted air, anger, depressed spirits, much standing bareheaded, eating much or hastily, too much warmth, excessive watching, too much cold, curds, all kinds of nuts, frequent bathing, onions, garlick, yawning, *smelling a white rose*, excess of venery, too much music, too much singing or reading, strong drink before sleeping, restless sleep, too frequent fasting, frequent wet feet."—(p. 362.)

To expel the poison of eruptive diseases from the blood.

"Take cleavers (which are recognized by their round seed which adhere to the clothes when ripe) and pound them well; fill up an earthen vessel therewith, and pour thereon as much boiling spring water as the vessel will admit, let it stand an hour, and strain through a clean linen cloth; let this be your only drink for nine days. When cleavers cannot be obtained watercress may be used. For food take milk, and as many roasted or boiled apples as you can, with the milk, and a slice of wheaten bread and honey. Do not take any meat save fresh mutton, or soup made of the same, cleavers, watercress, and white field trefoil being boiled therein: boiled nettles, or watercress and vinegar should be taken with the meat instead of bread. It is proven."—(p. 357.)

Mr. Pugh observes, "It is remarkable that cleavers has again come into much credit as an anti-scorbutic. The whole section is worthy of attention."

Here are two simple injunctions in the interest of chastity:—

"If you would always be chaste, eat daily some of the herb called hart's tongue, and you will never assent to the suggestions of impurity."—(p. 52.) "If you would preserve yourself from unchaste desires eat rue in the morning."—(p. 75.)

Who would endure toothache in summer time, knowing this agreeable remedy?—

"To extract a tooth without pain: Take some newts, by some called lizards, and those nasty beetles which are found in ferns during the summer time, calcine them in an iron pot and make a powder thereof. Wet the forefinger of the right hand, insert it in the powder, and apply it to the tooth frequently, refraining from spitting it off, when the tooth will fall away without pain. It is proven."—(p. 310.)

Should this fail, however, there is another at hand, though it has not the *profedig yw* to vouch for it.

"Seek some ants with their eggs and powder, have this powder blown into the tooth through a quill, and be careful that it does not touch another tooth."—(p. 352.)

He who would have "An ointment for general use," simple, homogeneous, and of a venerable antiquity, has only to attend to the following:—

"Take a gander's fat, the fat of a male cat, a red boar's fat, three drams of blue wax, watercress, wormwood, the red strawberry plant, and primrose; boil them in pure spring water, and when boiled stuff a gander with them, and roast it at a distance from the fire; the grease issuing from it be carefully kept in a pot. It is a valuable ointment for all kinds of aches in a man's body, and is like one that was formerly made by Hippocrates. It is proven."—(p. 323.)

How much gold would the matrons of old Rome have given, and would the *belles* of modern Lutetia give, for this recipe to produce the *flava coma*, the much-desiderated golden hair!

"Take the bark of rhubarb, and infuse in white wine, wash your head therewith, dry with a fine clean cloth, then by the fire, or in the sun if it be warm. Do this once and again, and the oftener you do it the more beautiful your hair will become, and that without injury to the hair."—(p. 335.)

The pillow whereon the golden hair of Beauty reposes, (at least when Beauty has not *bought* her *chignons*,) may perchance be ravaged by the universal flea, in which unpleasant case let Beauty

"Take a hedgehog, roast it, receiving the oil in a vessel, anoint a stick with some of this oil, and lay it where there are fleas, and as many as are to be found in that room will be attracted thereto."—(p. 339.)

Hydrophobia is so fearful a thing that alleged remedies cannot be too widely circulated, and these, among others of the old Meddygon, may well be tried:—

"For the bite of a mad dog: Take a handful of betony, a handful of wild sage, a handful of bitter nightshade, and a cupful of standing water; pound the herbs well mixed with the water, and strain; mix a pennyworth of treacle therewith, and let the patient drink it two or three mornings. It is proven." —(p. 375.) "Boil wild sage in as much as will cover it of ale or water; let it be used as ordinary drink for nine days."—(p. 380.)

In a country like England where consumption is indigenous, it must be interesting to know that to live on apples baked or boiled, mixed with cow's or goat's milk, for a month or nine weeks, according to the strength of the disease, is exceedingly good for inflammation, or tubercles of the lung, and for the scurvy. Indeed this may be called a *sovereign* remedy, inasmuch as Hywel Feddyg of Llangynwyd cured Edward the Confessor "when there was not a physician in Christendom who would promise him an hour of life in consequence of the violence of the lung disease." And the Emperor Antonius "also made use of it at every spring, and fall of the leaf."—(p. 432.)

Let us now glance at one or two prescriptions of a different order. There is for the bite of a spider the following curious remedy:—

"The bite of the spider will not be found venomous save from the feast of the nativity of the Virgin Mary, to that of her purification, and then by applying the yellow bed straw thereto, bruised, the venom will be extracted therefrom." –(p. 48.)

Neither the natural history nor the treatment here may be so defective as it would seem.

For intermittents or agues we have the following:—

"Write in three apples, on three separate days. In the first apple + *o nagla pater*. In the second apple + *o nagla filius*. In the third apple + *o nagla spiritus sanctus*. And on the third day he will recover. If you would know how it will happen to a man who sickens, whether he will live or die of his disease, take the herb called violet, bruise it, and bind a portion to both legs, and if the patient will live he will sleep, and if he cannot sleep he will die."—(p. 51.)

In another place (p. 75) the violets are to be applied to the eyebrows for the same object.

Here also are two invaluable recommendations:—

"How to be merry:—If you would at all times be merry, eat saffron in meat or drink, and you will never be sad; but beware of eating over much lest you should die of excessive joy."—(p. 52.) "To cure envy:—If you would never be in an envious mood, drink as much as would fill an egg-shell of the juice of the herb called wild clary, and you will not after fall into an evil temper." —(p. 52.)

The only drawback to the next prescription is that it can be tried but once in the year:—

"To cure palsy. Take the field southernwood, pound it in a mortar, and strain the juice to about a small cupful,[8] and give it the patient to drink on the dawn of God's day of Christmas."—(p. 61.)

Anyone whose liver unfortunately sticks to his ribs will do well to

"Take in the morning at sunrise (chanting his paternoster), some river startip; digest it in new ale, and drink it whilst in a bath, for nine days."—(p 61.)

Headache and bleeding from the nose may be checked thus:—

"Take an apronful of sheep sorrel and boil in the milk of a one-coloured cow till it is nearly dry. Apply as a plaster to the

[8] In the primitive system of weights and measures of our doctors, four spoonfuls make one eggshellful, and four eggshellfuls make one cupful.

head, the patient keeping his bed, being covered with clothes so as to cause him to perspire."—(p. 371.)

"Get the periwinkle, and hang in a bag about the neck of the patient. Proven."—(p. 412.)

Should this last recipe (for bleeding of the nose) fail through want of faith or otherwise, the following will be found more direct in its action:—

"Take a nettle, pound it well, and fill your nostrils therewith."—(p. 433.)

Here is an uncommon remedy for a common disease:—

"Rub young swallows with saffron, and in a short time the old swallows will bring them a stone; with this stone the patient will be cured of the hydrops."—(p. 456.)

We presume that the patient is to swallow the stone of the swallow, but there is a mystical brevity that forbids analysis in this prescription. It is taken from the list of "Charms and medical feats discovered through the Grace of God, and the intelligence of the sages and saints of olden times."—(p. 453.) We add three others briefly expressed:—

"To oblige a man to confess what he has done. Take a frog alive from the water, extract his tongue, and put him again in the water. Lay this same tongue upon the heart of a sleeping man, and he will confess his deeds in his sleep."

"To produce sleep. Take a goat's horn, and carve the name of the seven sleepers thereon, making a knife-haft of it. The writing should begin at the blade, and these are their names; Anaxeimeys, Malchus, Marsianus, Denys, Thon, Serapion, Constantynn. When the names are inscribed, lay the knife under the sick man's head, unknown to him, and he will sleep."

"Take the gall of a cat, and a hen's fat, mixing them together. Put this in your eyes, and you will see things which are invisible to others."

The virtues of the principal herbs in the practice of the Physicians of Myddvai, in addition to being indicated throughout the numerous prescriptions of the volume, are collectively described at the end. All of them, sage, iris, nettle, betony, parsley, fennel, rosemary, blessed thistle, cleavers, vervain, together with the misletoe and the oak, appear to great advantage in the enumeration

of their good qualities. The "cusped vervain" is an especial favourite of ours. Beside its invaluable properties as an anti-scorbutic, it has the following, not so generally known:—

"If one goes to battle let him seek the vervain, and keep it in his clothes (on his person), and he will escape from his enemies." —(p. 314.)

Again,—

"Take the vervain, and hang it about a man's neck, or give him the juice in going to bed, and it will prevent his dreaming." —(pp. 338 and 361.)

As to fennel, we are told in the Medical Maxims from the book of Iago ab Dewi (page 21 of Preface), "He who sees fennel, and gathers it not, is not a man, but a devil." It is good for the eye, and against fever, ague, and headache.

Many are the virtues of the leek, ascertained long before this plant was a national emblem. We learn, however, that leeks are oppressive to the stomach and eyes, that they occasion intoxication if eaten raw, and produce terrific dreams unless lettuce or poppy be eaten first to "temperate" them.—(p. 66.)

The misletoe of the Druids maintains all its efficacy in the hands of the men of Myddvai. It strengthens the body more than any other plant, and overcomes paralysis, epilepsy, even madness, and all disease of brain, nerves, joints, heart, or lungs. Well may Pliny have called it *omnia sanantem!*[9]

We are told finally to gather every herb in the name of God, and to give no heed to those who say that it should be gathered in the name of the devil, as the devil has nothing to do with goodness.—(p. 449.) Whatever may be said of the medical science of to-day in its relation to religion, there was no lack of faith in the practice of our Meddygon, although their Hygeia in the main

9 Pliny reports that the misletoe in the belief of the Druids, is good *inter alia*, against poison and barrenness. The Meddygon say that it increases fertility.

leaned too much on common sense to merit the reproach of Lucretius, "Gravi oppressa sub Relligione."

Of temperaments the Cymric Physicians have much to say, and their account both as to classification and analysis, is, though somewhat fanciful, for the most part consistent, not only with Greek, Arab, and Gothic teachings, but with the average conclusions of modern physiology. There is a good chapter on the essentials and characteristics of a physician; and the rules laid down for his private and professional behaviour, while on the one hand they resemble the rules imposed on the Asclepiadæ, on the other hand are almost identical with the courtesies, charities, and moralities, which distinguish our own medical practice.

In the last place, we may transcribe one or two of the "maxims" ("Diarhebion Meddygol") collected by Ab Ithel in his preface, of which, he tells us, the authorship is unknown, but which have in their proverbial shape clung firmly to the public mind. They are taken from the "Book of Iago ab Dewi."

"He who goes to bed supperless will have no need of Rhiwallon of Myddvai."

"The three qualities of water; it will produce no sickness, no debt, and no widowhood."

"Supper will kill more than were ever cured by the Physicians of Myddvai."

"It is more wholesome to smell warm bread than to eat it."

"The bread of yesterday, the meat of to-day, and the wine of last year, will produce health."[1]

"Three men that are long lived; the ploughman of dry land, a mountain dairyman, and a fisherman of the sea."

"The three medicines of the Physicians of Myddvai; water, honey, and labour."

"Whoso breaks not his fast in May, let him consider himself with the dead."

(We trust that the last is only an ungallant slander on the character of the pleasant flower-crowned young lady, *Mis* May.)

[1] A current Salopian proverb is, "Bread a day old, cheese a year old, and ale seven years old, will make an old man sing when he is a hundred years old."

Such is a fair and sufficient sample of the lore of the Physicians of Myddvai; and we may not err in concluding that—magic and sortilege excepted—it is not much less valuable than any other prescription-book in the most uncertain art of medicine. With regard to the book itself, there seems no reason for doubting that it is a true transcript of the writings of the thirteenth century, and that it embodies the British medical belief and practice of the Middle Age. Ab Ithel, in his preface, has treated it exclusively in this light, and traced the botanical practice from the Druids to Hywel Dda. He does not, however, notice the fact that herbalism and magic applied to healing have been popular with all nations at all times. The Saxons in Britain had analogous rules and recipes to those of the Cymry, which they had evidently in great part derived from the Greeks, and Romans, and Goths. The Herbarium of Dioscorides, and the Herbarium of Apuleius; the "Medicina de Quadrupedibus" of Sextus Placitus, the lore of the Magi and Pythagoreans as reported by Pliny, the treatises of Avicenna, are the first repositories of a large proportion of the prescriptions, precepts, and proverbs in the British and Saxon books.

There was published three years after Ab Ithel's edition of the *Meddygon*, as one of the volumes issued by the Master of the Rolls, and under the editorship of the Rev. Oswald Cockayne, a work quite as interesting as the Welsh one, and even more curious, entitled, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England, being a collection of documents for the most part never before printed.* Mr. Cockayne has displayed great learning and research in this book, and exhausted all that Hellenic and Latin literature can show on the subject, as well as all in the Sagas and in medical ecclesiology, that has any reference to magical cure.

His book must be taken with Ab Ithel's, one illustrating Saxon practice, the other Cymric practice, but both being derived from the old sources indicated, and modified and moulded by national instinct or individual experience.

These collections are undoubtedly the unacknowledged

parents of the numerous herbals yet conned over in village libraries, and of the fragmentary recipes cherished in the copy-books of housewives of the old school.

Mr. Cockayne tells pleasant stories of the Elves and Dwarves, but the best of this class is that in *Meddygon Myddvai*, the Legend of the Lady of Llyn y Van Vach. This legend in its most correct form, as written down by Mr. W. Rees, of Llandovery, from the oral recitation of several aged people, is prefixed to the volume which it very agreeably lightens, if it hardly helps to authenticate. A young farmer herding cattle on the Caermarthenshire Vans, sees a beautiful nymph—by no means a mermaid—sitting on the calm surface of the Llyn, with whom it is needless to say he becomes deeply enamoured; and as a proof of his love—what can be more convincing! —he offers her in true Arcadian simplicity, the bread and cheese he had brought for his mid-day meal.

The Welsh Undine, however, skilled in the coquetry of her sisters of a grosser element, tells him in an epigrammatic couplet that his bread is hard baked, and that it is not easy to catch her. Thereupon Corydon hastens home and takes counsel with his mother. On the following day he comes with a votive offering of *bara* in a state quite the reverse of the last, but the fastidious lady equally rejects it, assuring him merely that his bread is unbaked, and that she will not have him. For the third time, then, the young man seeks the borders of the Llyn, having now, mindful of the "medio tutissimus" brought bread reasonably well baked, being neither too hard nor too soft. This ultimatum of the oven at last wins the Egeria of the Vans, and she engages herself, as did the daughters of Romulus, by the sharing of a cake.[2] Then like a prudent girl she descends to the crystal caverns to communicate the news to her papa. That personage receives it in good part, and instead of throwing cold water on the affair, which he might obviously soon do, he merely imports into it a little

[2] Confarreatio.

facetiousness of his own. Taking on one arm his newly-affianced daughter, and on the other her sister, who looks the exact counterpart of her in figure and costume—for in the latter respect the ladies do not seem to be of the Anadyomenian type—the venerable sire rises to the surface, and makes a speech to the astonished peasant, announcing the acceptance of his suit, but propounding the condition that he shall declare which of the two beauties before him is the object of it. The swain is at first sadly perplexed, but his lady, with all a woman's wit, thrusts her foot slightly forward, and recognizing it by a peculiar sandal, he claims her as his bride. Then the good-natured father gives her to the husband elect, with the promise of as many sheep, goats, horses, and kine, as she can count without drawing breath; only stipulating that both wife and dowry shall be at once taken away in the event of her receiving from her husband "three causeless blows." The bridegroom in whose heart wifebeating has not yet dawned, gladly accedes to so easy a condition; and the lady having called a large live stock out of the waters by an ingenious breath-saving plan of counting by fives, they are married, with what ceremonies the legend sayeth not.

The sequel is not hard to divine. For a long time all goes well. Three handsome boys are born; prosperity abounds; and husband and wife "mutuis animis amant, amantur." But the three Blows like the three Fates cannot be averted. A playful tap on the shoulder at a christening; a mere touch at a marriage feast; a slight push at a funeral; constitute them, and the contract is irreparably broken for ever.

After the last "blow" the lady proceeds home and calls together her dowry and their progeny, whether living and dead; and bidding farewell to stone walls, green fields, and all the cares and comforts of married life, she moves away to the mountains, and glides into the lake, followed by the long procession of cows and sheep and horses and oxen, from the fold-yard and hill and meadow and half-ploughed field; the rear being brought

up by the little black calf, but yesterday converted into veal, who at the invocation of the well-remembered mistress comes down from his hook and proceeds with his companions, "yn iach adre" "quite well home."

And thus the waters of Llyn y Van Vach closed over the fair Lady and over the hopes and property of her disconsolate and dispossessed spouse, who often, it may be imagined, revisited the romantic Llyn, but never again saw his wife's face—nor even her sister's.

Connubial love, however, is not so strong as parental love. Blood is not water, even to a water-nymph. Accordingly before we put *Explicit* to our legend, we are happy to add that the Lady did sometimes quit her father and sisters, to come to see her sons. She met them on mountain side and in wooded dingle, but never entered their dwelling or invited them to her own. And she brought them, ere her final leave-taking, a mysterious present, a Bag which would console them for her loss, and give them fortune and fame in the world.

The Bag contained *medical prescriptions*, and the sons were the Meddygon Myddfai!

Early in 1862 an influential friend of Ab Ithel essayed to obtain for him the living of Narberth, in Pembrokeshire, which was then vacant, and, we believe, in the gift of the Crown. The application was unsuccessful. Other arrangements too were being made at this time. The living of Llanymowddwy had been transferred from the diocese of St. Asaph to that of Bangor, and there had succeeded to Bishop Bethell a new Bishop of Bangor, of Celtic, if not of Cymric blood, who had lived among the Welsh people, and who had a competent knowledge of their language, large experience of their character, and close sympathy with their feelings.

When the ancient See of Deiniol became vacant in 1859 there arose a splendid opportunity for the preferment of a Welsh clergyman to that high office, and the obvious arguments in favour of such a course were publicly asserted by the patriotic party in and out of the Church, and were pressed on Lord Derby's ministry with

assiduous zeal. It could not be denied that in the natural fitness of things, a Welsh-born and Welsh-speaking Bishop was due to Wales, since only such a one could perform the duties of Apostolic Christianity, and satisfy the needs of the Anglican ritual. Nor could it be disputed that there were in the Principality, in the full exercise of the pastoral office, many a man of regular education, high abilities, honoured character, and competent standing, whose elevation to the episcopate would be most agreeable to the people, while it would take nothing from the safety of the Constitution, or from the dignity of the Church. Attention was invited to two or three clergymen —Ab Ithel being one—who were esteemed to be suitable as candidates. But the Government, with its old reluctance to recognize any distinct nationality in Wales, either secular or religious, or to promote any Welsh clergyman who supported that principle, paid no heed to the suggestions.

Ultimately, however, the next best step was taken in the choice of Dr. Campbell, whose affiliation to the Welsh Church made him immensely more valuable than the English dignitaries hitherto nominated by the Crown. The result was that the Church gained in numbers and influence, and the new Bishop became doubly dear to his clergy and his people.

It is not, therefore, surprising that Ab Ithel won the esteem of a diocesan so well able to appreciate him, and obtained a promise of the first vacancy in any situation more commensurate with his merits, or more favourable to his health.[3] This promise was faithfully kept. In March, 1862, the living of Llanenddwyn *cum* Llanddwywe was offered to him in very kind terms, and he did not hesitate to accept it.

These two villages of the Merioneth coast are on the high-road between Harlech and Barmouth, Llanenddwyn being exactly five miles from either town, and Llan-

[3] See also our remarks on this subject, and an extract from Ab Ithel's sermon, page 193, 1863.

ddwywe one mile nearer to Barmouth. Llanenddwyn Church is dedicated to Enddwyn, a female saint who is numbered by Professor Rees among the saints of uncertain date.[4] The same writer, mentioning Dunawd, Abbot of Bangor Iscoed in the sixth century, states that his wife Dwywe, the daughter of Gwallog ab Llenog, has been classed with the saints, but that there are no churches which bear her name.[5] The Professor must have forgotten here the little church in Ardudwy, though he gives it in the list of churches at the end of his volume.

The romantic wilds of Cwm Bychan lie about seven miles to the north-east of Llanenddwyn, and are best approached by way of Llanbedr. Opposite Llanenddwyn a narrow way leads up through a country rich in Druidic and sepulchral remains, across Artro, through Cwm Nanteol, to Drws Ardudwy at the feet of Rhynnog Fawr, which is the centre of the mountain chain parallel with the coast-line, between the valleys of Festiniog and Mawddach, and whose desolate, storm-vexed, jagged ridges stand out so sharp and black athwart the sinking sun, as seen from Sarn Helen on the Trawsfynydd and Dolgelly road.

The whole district between Llanbedr and Llanddwywe, and between the slopes of the Rhynnogs and the sea, is called Dyffryn Ardudwy, and in all North Wales there is perhaps none more marked by history or more adorned by legend. In front of it stretches for twenty miles into the sea the long causeway of gravel and boulders called Sarn Padrig,[6] where the traveller may look down at low tide on whatever fancy may suggest, or penetration discover, of the lost Cantre 'r Gwaelod, over which the waves have rolled for thirteen hundred years. The entire country from the Traeth Bach and Maentwrog on the north, to Barmouth and Llanelltyd Bridge on the

[4] Essay, page 307. [5] *Id.*, page 207.

[6] Pennant says Sarn *Badrhwyg*, or *Shipbreaking*, from the number of vessels lost upon it.—*Tour in North Wales*, vol. ii. p. 274. Yet the allusion to Patrick is too confirmed to be quenched even by so good an etymology.

south, is dear to the Welsh patriot, and to the poet and antiquary of all nations.

In coming then to Ardudwy, Ab Ithel gained new archæological ground to explore, as well as a milder climate and a less extended parish. The value of the living, too, was between £300 and £400, with a house and land—an emolument double that of Llanymowddwy. Had only all this happened three years earlier, it is most probable that his life would have been preserved, and that fresh literary fruits would have crowned returning health. The change came too late, yet it is satisfactory to know that it did come.

It is needless to say that the poor cottagers of Mowddwy looked on the departure of their Rector with sad hearts. He was endeared to them in a way hardly intelligible to a clergyman in an English parish, however popular and beloved. He was not only their minister of Christ, their kind counsellor and friend, but he was the custodian of their old manners, the fosterer of their dying language, the priest who led them in the worship and faith of their fathers, the plain Welshman who shared their fortunes, the bold and skilful writer who stood up for their nation.

Ab Ithel before leaving Llanymowddwy stocked the church-yard with young trees, which may flourish in their maturity when the great old yews are fallen, and when the little church itself, and all the cottages nestling round it are in ruins; but which, while the literature of Cymru shall endure, will not be greener than the memory of him who planted them.

He had long wished to build a church at Cowarch, about midway between Mallwyd and Llanymowddwy, and he had prepared plans for it when he was presented to Llanenddwyn. But what had been done during his ministry might well console him for what was left undone.

He took leave of the old parish of Tydecho in the beginning of April, 1862, never to return again.

The people of Ardudwy hailed with delight his coming among them. A newspaper of the time gives the following account of his first sermons:—

VALE OF ARDUDWY.

On Sunday last, very large congregations assembled to the churches of Llanenddwyn and Llanddwywe, to hear the celebrated and learned antiquarian the Rev. John Williams Ab Ithel, M.A., B.B.D., late Rector of Llanymowddwy, preaching his first sermons to his new parishioners. The world-wide fame of Ab Ithel drew a very large concourse of people together. Some came from the distance of ten miles. And it gives us great pleasure to state that the rev. gentleman gave entire satisfaction to all present. The service was held in the morning at Llanenddwyn, when Mr. Williams preached a practical sermon from St. John vi. 11. "And Jesus took the loaves; and when he had given thanks, he distributed to the disciples, and the disciples to them that were set down; and likewise of the fishes as much as they would." In the afternoon, service was held at the church of Llanddwywe, when the same gentleman preached a very learned and substantial sermon from St. John xix. 30. "When Jesus therefore had received the vinegar, he said, It is finished: and bowed his head, and gave up the ghost." The evening service was held at Llanenddwyn, when Mr. Williams delivered an eloquent sermon from St. Luke xxiv. 34. "The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon." Ab Ithel's preaching is plain, impressive, pathetic, evangelical, and sound in faith. He preaches the Gospel according to the doctrine of that excellent Church which he professes to be a member of; and he preaches it for the very purpose of saving the souls of those who come to hear him. His style is natural, his words familiar, and his subjects scriptural. We feel it our duty to inform your readers that our new Pastor is not numbered among those ministers who form a party in our Church. Ab Ithel is far from such narrow-minded individuals. We feel it our duty also to thank our good and pious Bishop for appointing Ab Ithel to instruct us in the way of truth. May the Lord bless the wise appointments of our Bishop, and prosper the good exertions of Ab Ithel, our highly respected new Rector.

PRIZE ESSAY ON PATRIOTISM.[1]

THERE are different forms of government in the world, some of which possess a higher degree of excellence, and others less. And just in proportion as the government of a country assumes a mild and parental character, does the patriotism of its inhabitants grow strong and become general. It is true those natives whose necks are under the galling yoke of despotism, and whose spirits are crushed beneath the iron sceptre of absolute rule, cherish a stronger love for fatherland than for any other country, because the ties of blood, and of friendships formed at an early age, as well as a community of thought and feeling with the great body of the people, never fail to engender in every man a strong partiality for the land of his birth. This has been well expressed by an anonymous poet in the following lines:—

"It may not brightest be nor best;
To me it spreads a mother's breast;
Its springs well from my inmost heart;
Its skies my heavenliest dreams impart;
Its earth enshrines my parents' tomb;
Its air amidst life's darkest gloom,
Breathes hope into my wither'd soul.
Swiftly, ye loitering billows, roll;
Swiftly, ye lagging coursers, fly!
Once more beneath my longing eye,
Let thy familiar charms expand,
My own, my blessed fatherland."

Nevertheless patriotism, taken in its popular acceptation, can neither exist as a principle in the human bosom, nor flourish as a virtue in human practice, except in a free country. For it does not altogether consist in a

[1] This Essay won the medal of the Cymmrodorion Society of London, in the year 1821. It was written in Welsh, as required by the Society, and is now translated into English by the author, who has made but few alterations beyond substituting quotations from the English poets for those from the Welsh. Welsh poetry, composed in Bardic metres, cannot be rendered into English without losing much of its point.

simple attachment to the soil, or a peculiar liking for the spot in which we drew our first breath, but it sets up a much higher standard, as will appear from an inquiry into its moving cause—its virtuous nature—and its benevolent results.

I.—Let us consider the *source* from which it springs. There have been those in every age of the world, who, from a warm feeling of attachment to their demesnes, fought valiantly in defence of their country, and braved the greatest perils. But they did it in order to ward off the destruction which threatened their own property. It was a duty which they owed to themselves, and no one had a right to blame them. But the *true patriot* is actuated by a higher motive—even by a heartfelt desire to protect the rights of others as well as his own, and to improve the condition of all his fellow-countrymen. Such a motive gives birth to unselfish aspirations and generous acts; and in such acts alone is the genuine principle, or truly patriotic feeling displayed.

> "'Tis not indulging private inclination,
> The selfish passions, that sustain the world:
> The public good, the good of others, still
> Must bear fond nature down:—
> Dear as thou art whene'er our country calls,
> Friends, sons, and sires should yield their treasure up,
> Nor own a sense beyond the public safety."

Nevertheless, no supreme ruler of a country can reasonably expect his subjects to practise such acts of self-denial for the public good, when they themselves are denied the liberties and privileges to which all good subjects are entitled. The Roman adage, *Patria cara, carior libertas*, "My country is dear to me, but liberty is dearer," is a maxim of truth which finds an echo in every human breast. Liberty, political, social, and religious, is the stem on which a nation's patriotism grows and fructifies; for, "A day, an hour of virtuous liberty," as Mr. Addison observed, "is worth a whole eternity in bondage."

II.—Let us glance at the *nature* of Patriotism. It is

in the highest degree virtuous. Every element that enters into its composition is praiseworthy. It embodies a fulfilment of all the Divine precepts which set forth and enjoin man's duty to his parents, his kindred, his neighbours, and fellow-citizens; as the eloquent Cicero wrote, *Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares; sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est;* that is, "Dear are our parents, dear our children, our kindred, and our friends; but the love of country in itself embraces all these affections." Amidst the various social virtues which may adorn a man's life, there is not one superior to this. Like the sun in the planetary system, Patriotism stands as a centre around which other virtues revolve like so many shining lights, borrowing from its rays, and reflecting the glory of its radiance. Or, to use another comparison, it may be said to be a virgin among virgins, robed in white, adorned by every grace, and possessed of pristine beauty. It is the offspring of the Divine Ruler, the companion of Mercy, and the handmaid of Justice. Were the ambitious man, who spends his precious life in quest of earthly honours and distinction, to consider the claims of this high-born virtue, and make her his own, he would soon find himself on the road to fame, and in possession of that "good name" which is said to be better or more fragrant than precious ointment.

And here it may be well to point out some of the *counteracting influences* with which Patriotism has to contend. The following may be regarded as the principal —Self-interest, Avarice, and Indolence.

Self-interest is one of the most deeply-rooted principles in the human heart. Its object is to secure gain and profit to its possessor, regardless of the claims and rights of others. It cares not how the public good may suffer, so long as its own hard and not unfrequently dishonest plans succeed. It is a deep well which sends forth streams of bitter and noxious waters.

Avarice, or the love of money, is another counteracting influence. This is said in Holy Writ to be "the

root of all evil." No man under its sway has ever been of material benefit to mankind. For, as Ovid has well observed, *Opes irritamenta malorum*, "Riches are incentives to evils;" or as Juvenal, the Roman satirist, described them, *Sunt quædam vitiorum elementa*, "They are as it were the elements of vices." The man, therefore, who fosters an inveterate love for wealth, is never free from evil influence. It is enshrined in his heart, and the highest authority has said that "The evil man out of the evil treasure of his heart bringeth forth evil things."

Sloth, or Indolence, must be placed in the same category with Self-interest and Avarice. This was worthily designated by the heathen philosophers as the "Devil's pillow." And though sloth is an opposing principle of a negative character, it effectually obstructs the free action of Patriotism, and paralyzes the arm and the hand that ought to be constantly plied in promoting the good of the country. When all good subjects are up and doing, the slothful man remains at home, taking his ease. And if you ask him,—Why is he not in the field, assisting in the cultivation of the soil? or, why is he not in the streets of the city, making merchandise? He replies,—"There is a great lion in the way, a lion is in the streets;" that is, he brings up an imaginary difficulty, and assigns that as his reason for culpable inactivity. Yea, he heightens the danger, by saying, "There is a lion without, *I shall be slain in the streets.*" If men of this stamp were to multiply in the land, they would soon convert our green fields into a barren waste, and allow our rich meadows to be over-run with briars and thorns. Hear what Solomon has said on this point. "I went by the field of the slothful man, and, lo, it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles had covered the face thereof . . . . Then I saw and considered it well: I looked upon it, and received instruction." And what was the instruction? The sluggard saith,—"Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep: *So shall thy poverty come as one that travelleth;*

and thy want as an armed man." Solomon foretells the consequences to the sluggard himself as more likely to rouse him from his apathy. But if such sluggishness were to grow up, and spread in a country, so as to affect a large portion of the nation, the evil effects thereof would be incalculable; the whole state would sicken and fall into decay!

Such are the opposing influences which have their seat in the human heart, and which Patriotism has to expel before it can take possession of the inner man. And the virtue that can achieve a conquest over *self-interest*, *avarice*, and *love of ease*, must possess no small vigour, and is entitled to the highest praise of mankind.

III.—Let us now proceed to view Patriotism in its *results*. Its aims have ever been to defend the state—to advance the national honour—and to improve the social condition of the people. The country that has given birth to men of high character may well be proud of the fact. But the honour she derives from the adventures of her noble sons, and from their deeds of bravery, is a source of far greater satisfaction. How truly does this apply to our own father-land. Through the patriotic exertions of our countrymen, Britain has been raised to occupy the foremost place in the scale of nations. The names of Pitt and Fox as statesmen, of Howe and Nelson as admirals, and of Picton and Wellington as generals, together with the names of hundreds of others, their equals in devotion to their country's good, will remain inscribed on the walls of the Temple of Fame so long as Britain continues an inhabited country. Yea, countless are the numbers of her brave patriots who fell by sea and land, nobly fighting for their country, and who, like Curtius and Decius, by their mode of dying, confirmed the truth of the Roman proverb, *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.* It was in view of such enthusiastic patriotism, and under the influence of its inspiration, that the poet Thomson exclaimed:—

"Who would not bleed with transports for his country,
Tear every tender passion from his heart,
And greatly die to make a people happy?"

As Patriotism grows in a country, and becomes fully developed, there grows also a feeling of contentment, and a corresponding degree of social happiness, for a "contented mind is a continual feast." And it is in connection with such a state of things that a whole nation wears the aspect of a united family. The present condition of Britain presents to our view this beautiful picture. It was only a few years ago[2] that we saw our native country thrown into a state of confusion by the warlike proceedings of Napoleon Bonaparte, and the fear of foreign invasion vibrated into every corner of the land. Happiness withdrew from the population, and hid itself in the holes of the rocks. But Britain had no traitors; her sons were patriotic; and her rulers, supported by the people, put forth their united energies to keep the enemy away from our shores, and to defeat his projects; and, by the blessing of Heaven on our arms, he was overthrown and driven into exile. Peace immediately followed. Happiness came forth from its hiding-place to revisit our plains and hills. Our agriculturists now "plough in hope," and whilst labouring are no longer afraid that others will enter into their labours. Our merchants send forth their ships to foreign parts, and run no risks from the enemy's fleets or privateers. The highways of the seas are open for the safe conveyance of our commerce. In like manner all that dwell within the precincts of the British Isles may be said to enjoy, in one form or another, the boundless blessings of peace.

"Gentle Peace,
With liberal hand, diffuses gladness round:
By her inspired, the flock-spread mountain sings;
The cultured vale resounds the parent's joy,
And plenty flows into the crowded gate
Of the full-peopled city. Who then, Peace,

[2] This was written in the year 1821, six years after the close of the Peninsular war under Napoleon I.

Thou best of powers! who would not thee prefer
To guilty glory and the crimes of war?"—*Paterson.*

Having, in the foregoing remarks, traced Patriotism to its true source, and fully explained its excellent qualities as a virtue, and having also pointed out its beneficial effects upon the commonweal, we now proceed to show that it is the *duty* of Britons, above all people, to cultivate the feeling of Patriotism; or, in other words, to love and uphold the interests of their father-land.

This will appear from the following considerations:—

I.—Britain is a land of *civil liberty*. Its liberty is so great that a slave does not exist within its borders. A foreigner—no matter from what country he comes, to what race he belongs, what language he speaks, or what may be the colour of his skin—no sooner sets his foot on British ground than he is free; free to think and act for himself; free to express his feelings and convictions to others; free to pursue an honest calling in any capacity that may best suit his taste; and free by his industry and frugality to raise himself to a position of honour and wealth, and consequent thereon, to enjoy the privilege of mingling with the great, and sitting beside the princes of the land.

And if it be inquired, How comes this to be the case in Britain? We answer that Britain has JUST LAWS and a WISE CONSTITUTION. These are the great safeguards of her liberties.

For ages past, the aim of our legislators has been to improve the character of our laws, by entirely repealing such enactments as appeared tyrannical, and by modifying those which were made to suit the circumstances of the country in times more stubborn than our own. By this process our ancient statutes which remain unrepealed have been rendered more liberal and just, and our modern legislation likewise has been conducted in accordance with these principles; so that our laws, as they now stand, afford to the labourer in his cot, the same protection of life and property as they do to the peer of the realm, or the sovereign on the throne. Our

laws, moreover, encourage navigation, commerce, trade, and manufactures of every description, keeping in view that these are the sources from which the great bulk of the nation derive their wages, their income, and their wealth. Our judges who administer the laws are men of high attainments, intelligence, and moderation. As a class of officials their integrity is above suspicion. Bribery does not reach them, so that they are seldom known to pervert the ways of judgment or equity; but each one of them seems to be actuated by the maxim of Cicero, *Qui adipisci veram gloriam volet justitiæ fungatur officiis;* "He who desires to obtain true glory, let him discharge the claims of justice." Our magistrates also act with honesty of purpose in the settlement of minor differences between contending suitors, and evince a leaning to mercy in the administration of penal laws against petty offences. What better provision could possibly be made to protect the people in their rights, or to vindicate them from the wrongs of evil-doers?

Another safeguard of British liberty is the British Constitution. By the Constitution we understand our established form of government. Originally conceived in wisdom, and subsequently improved by experience, it now stands unrivalled in the whole world. The three branches of the legislature, the Sovereign, the Lords, and the Commons, share alike its powers. And as in the multitude of counsellors there is wisdom, so in the power which each of these branches possesses to stay the perilous proceedings of the other two, there is safety. Here is one magnificent instance of the "three-fold cord which is not easily broken." How truly is the British Constitution described by a learned lawyer in the following terms:—*Si antiquitatem spectes est vetustissima, si dignitatem est honoratissima, si jurisdictionem est capacissima.* It provides against the assumption of despotic power by the monarch on the one side, and has facilities to keep in check the swelling tide of democracy on the other: it seems, therefore, the best that could have been devised to promote the general welfare of the country,

and the individual interests of all classes of society. Its highest law is the well-being of the people. *Salus populi suprema est lex.*

II.—A second reason for which Britons ought to abound in patriotic feeling and action is this,—Britain is the seat and nursing-mother of *pure and scriptural religion.* Delivered long ago from the sway of pagan darkness and the cruelties of idolatrous rites, and at a later period from the superstitious creed and demon-worship of the apostate Church of Rome, our country now enjoys the blessing of an open Bible, and basks in the sunshine of the Gospel—of that pure Gospel which regenerates the hearts of wicked men, and transforms their character, so as morally to make "the wolf to dwell with the lamb, and the leopard to lie down with the kid;" which diffuses a generous and philanthropic spirit among the population, and teaches them to be happy in their love to God, and to each other. It is in this country that Divine worship is performed from Sabbath to Sabbath in a devout manner, and with scriptural simplicity. There is no interference from the civil power—no interruption from the persecution of the godless. It is in this country that those denominations of Christians who have thought fit to separate themselves from the Mother-Church, and whose forms of religion differ in some material points from her's, are free to pursue the course most in accordance with their conscientious convictions, so long as they abstain from disturbing the general peace, or subverting the established order of things. "Happy art thou," O Britain, "who is like unto thee, O people, saved by the Lord, the shield of thy help, and the sword of thine excellency! And thine enemies shall be found liars unto thee, and thou shalt tread upon their high places."

True, no one has a right to expect the manifestation of love towards any object which does not possess in itself some meritorious qualities to call it forth; neither have we asserted that it is the imperative duty of Britons to foster a deeply patriotic affection for their native

country, without having furnished the most ample reasons for their so doing; for we have seen what incomparable advantages are secured by the Laws and Constitution to the inhabitants of Great Britain.

"Breathes there the man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
'This is my own—my native land!'
Whose heart hath ne'er within him burned,
As home his footsteps he hath turned,
From wandering on a foreign strand?
If such there breathe, go, mark him well!
For him no minstrel's raptures swell;
High though his titles, proud his name,
Boundless his wealth as wish can claim;
Despite those titles, power, and pelf,
The wretch concentred all in self,
Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
And, doubly dying, shall go down
To the vile dust from whence he sprung,
Unwept, unhonoured, and unsung!"—*Sir W. Scott.*

We have now reached the point at which something may be said as to the mode in which the generality of the people may evince their love of country.

1. *As members of the community.* It is admitted that the well-being of society depends much on the *integrity* and *fairness* with which individuals perform the duties of their respective callings; but where these attributes of honourable trading are disregarded, endless mischief ensues. That being so, it is perfectly clear that it is the duty of all members of the community alike to cultivate these high virtues, and closely to adhere to them in all the transactions of life. Dishonesty, how lucrative soever it may prove for a time to those who practise it, inflicts great injury on the community. Hence all true patriots are careful not to sacrifice the interests of the public to their own private ends. Indeed with them the public good stands before private advantage, according to the old law maxim, *Publicum bonum privato est præferendum.* And this is not inconsistent with reason;

for as we love to have fair play ourselves, it is but right that we should fully accord it to others.

2. *As subjects of the realm.* Important duties devolve upon all in this capacity, such as allegiance to the throne, loyalty to the Sovereign, submission to those in authority, and an unconstrained readiness to do all that may be required of us in support of the civil government. For if these duties of the subjects be neglected, or allowed to merge into a feeling of general indifference, the government will not only lose its beneficial influence, but must eventually totter and fall, and disastrous consequences will necessarily ensue. Hence St. Paul's vigourous language in support of the government, enjoining the Christians thereto. "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; for rulers are not a terror to good works but to the evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake."

And let no members of the community, or subjects of the realm, excuse themselves from the performance of these and other duties due to the commonwealth. It is idle for any to allege that they cherish a kind feeling for their country, but have it not in their power to do it any good; for it can be easily proved that there is no position of life in which a man may be placed that is without its means and opportunities of rendering service to the state. Sallust, the historian, has remarked, *Pulchrum est benefacere Reipublicæ, etiam benedicere haud absurdum est;* that is, "It is becoming to act well for the State; *even to speak well* of it is not without its advantage." Solomon refers to an instance in which a city was delivered by the wisdom of a *poor man.* "The city had but few inhabitants, and a great king came against it, and besieged it, and built great bulwarks against it. But in the city was found a *poor wise man, who by his wisdom delivered the city.*" And though few emergencies arise in our peaceful country to call forth the practical wisdom of the poor in a similar manner, yet the opportunity is never wanting to them to set the example of *the highest*

wisdom before their fellows, and their families—we mean the example of an upright, honest, and spotless life. And such an example has frequently proved of far greater benefit to the public than the wisest counsels, on the principle laid down by Seneca, the Roman moralist, in the following maxim:—*Longum iter est per præcepta, breve et efficax per exempla.* "The road by precept is long, by example short and effectual." Children follow not so much the advice of their parents as their example. The same may be said of all classes in society; they are more influenced by example in the course of life which they pursue than by anything else. How important, therefore, it must be to the public good, that men in humble life should set a praiseworthy example to the multitudes around them! never forgetting that "righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

This argument will acquire additional force by viewing the case from the opposite side. Is it not in the power of parties in humble life to injure their country? And the evils which at times have distracted the kingdoms of the earth, have they not frequently sprung from the riotous proceedings of a disaffected mob? When men cast aside all feeling of regard for the commonweal, they are open at every opportunity to traduce their country, and ruin their fellow-countrymen. And forsooth many are the ways in which such men attempt to effect their purpose. They wilfully misrepresent the legitimate objects of government; they assail as unjust the natural gradations of rank in society; they raise a clamour against the employers of labour, and urge the working classes to rebel against their own condition in life as one of great hardships. Every circumstance connected with the poor is aggravated and converted into a crime, and by this means they succeed in spreading discontent among the millions. Within the present century instances have occurred of men, blinded by envy and bent upon plunder, using the most plausible arguments to gain over the operative classes to projects of great public mischief.

And it is no libel upon those classes to assert that they have been too ready on many occasions to believe what they might have known to be false, and to follow thoughtlessly where men of "cunning devices" led the way. History records instances of brave princes and benevolent rulers dispatched by the murderous hands of the *lowest* assassins, whereby whole nations were thrown into confusion, and a shock was given to trade and commerce which was felt in every corner of the land. From these considerations we infer that it is of the highest importance to the well-being of a country, that its inhabitants, from the highest to the lowest, should be taught to regard PATRIOTISM as the fruitful source of unnumbered blessings, and a virtue that carries with it its own reward.

We should not consider this part of the argument in support of Patriotism as a *duty* to be complete, if we omitted to add that any proceeding on the part of man by which the State sustains an injury must be regarded as an offence against Almighty God. It is distinctly alleged in Holy Scripture, once and again, "that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men;" in other words, that he is a God of providence, "who doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth." He superintends the affairs of states and kingdoms in order to give them solidity and make them prosperous, as the learned Grotius has well argued in the following passage:—*Si recte consideretur multitudo malorum hominum, et quæ extrinsecus nocere possint, et agnatæ quasi rebus vicissitudines, non videtur tam diu imperium aliquod posse subsistere, nisi peculiari quâdam divini numinis curâ;* that is to say, if it be duly considered what multitudes of wicked men there are in a state, and how many injuries can happen to it from without, and the changes which are inseparable from human affairs, it does not appear that any form of government could very long subsist except by a kind of peculiar care on the part of the Divine Being. "God is not the author of confusion, but of peace." The regu-

larity, the harmony, and the good order of human governments may therefore be said to be blessings immediately emanating from his gracious superintendence; and the parties who labour to produce a disruption in the nation's brotherhood, by creating discontent and raising tumults among the people, do what lies in their power to counteract the beneficent designs of Divine providence, and to displace him from the seat of supreme control, to which he has an inalienable right. This must be a heinous sin. Let not the guilt of it rest on the heads of British subjects.

And may we not lastly advert to the *ingratitude* involved in any offence committed against the State? Offences against private members of society, however culpable, may be exempt from this "the worst of all crimes," but no offence against the State can possibly be free from it. Let us take a cursory glance at the obligations under which we all lie to our fatherland. It is the land that gave us birth, and smiled with satisfaction on our tender years. It is the land over whose green fields we rambled in youth, enjoying the charms of spring and the full bloom of summer. It is the land that gave us companions of kindred thought and feeling at every stage of our progress up to manhood. It is the land in which we formed the dearest friendships, and entered into engagements which carried captive every feeling of the heart. It is the land in which we have followed our various avocations amid hopes and fears, successes and disappointments, that taught us the highest value of human life. It is the land in which we look forward to a peaceful old age when our work for God and our generation is done. And lastly, it is the land in which we trust our mortal remains will find a resting-place in the house prepared for all living, and there repose until the trumpet sound which shall wake the dead. And when that period shall arrive, may we all find in our dear native land a joyful resurrection!

In view of these affecting considerations we cannot conceive how any man can pursue a course of life that is

injurious to his country without being guilty of the deepest ingratitude!

May that God by whose wisdom "kings reign and princes decree justice" sustain our gracious Sovereign on the throne, and bless the land in which we live; may He baptize the nation with the spirit of love, contentment, and gratitude; and let no member of the community ever forget the exhortation of Scripture, which saith, "My son, fear thou the Lord and the king, and meddle not with them that are given to change."

In concluding this treatise, the author desires to express his own feelings on the subject in the words of Canon Bowles,—

> "O yes, I have felt a proud emotion swell
> That I was British born; that I had lived
> A witness of thy glory, my most loved
> And honoured country; and silent prayer
> Would rise to heaven that fame, and peace, and love,
> And liberty, would walk thy vales, and sing
> Their holy hymns; whilst thy brave arm repelled
> Hostility, even as thy guardian rocks
> Repel the dash of Ocean."

THE OLD NORSE AND KELTIC LANGUAGES.

By John Davies, M.A., Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, &c., and Rector of Walsoken, Norfolk.

"In the Norse language," says Professor Leo,[1] "there is decidedly a larger number of words agreeing with the Keltic languages than in any other German language whatever." I had noticed an affinity in many words of these languages in the course of some researches in the Scandinavian tongues, and commenced a list of corresponding terms. About a year ago a paper, entitled "Norsk og Keltisk," by Professor Holmboe, of Christiania, fell into my hands, and led to more extended research in the same field.[2] The results were entirely in accordance with Professor Leo's opinion. A comparison of these results with the lists of words in Professor Holmboe's treatise showed that the subject had not been exhausted by him, but that, on the contrary, many affinities had escaped his notice, which are interesting from their bearing on some questions in Comparative Philology, and the state of civilization among the Keltic and Scandinavian races at a remote age. In the following Paper I propose to lay before the students of Comparative Philology the more important words and grammatical forms that are related to each other in these languages.

The comparison will be interesting to the linguistic student for two reasons. (1.) It will strengthen the

[1] "Einmal nämlich finden sich im altnordischen dialekte bei weitem mehr mit Keltischen übereinstimmende worte (gerade auch bei bezeichnung der terranformen, und der gegenstände auf die sich ländliche lebensweisen hauptsächlich beziehen), als in irgend einem andern deutschen dialekte."—*Leo, die Malb. Glosse*, i. 12.

[2] I am under obligation to Professor Holmboe for a part—about a third—of the words in the following lists.

argument for the admission of the Keltic languages into the Indo-European or Aryan family. Their right to this admission, though now generally conceded, was strongly denied for a long time, even by some of the most eminent of the German philologists. The lists of related words which will be presented to the reader will show that the connection of the Keltic and Teutonic languages is closer than philologists have hitherto supposed. (2.) The comparison will show that, as we ascend to the older forms of a related class or family of languages, we find a closer relationship than in more modern forms, indicating by the converging lines a primitive unity in some pre-historic age.

It may be necessary to premise, for the information of the general reader, that the old Norse, with which we are at present chiefly concerned, is the language of Iceland, whither a large body of Norwegians migrated in the ninth century, to escape from the oppression of Harold Haarfagr. The language of Norway, which is now receding before the advancing Danish, is still substantially the same; but the insular position of the Icelanders, and the preservation in their literature of the old national songs, some of which may perhaps be referred to the seventh century, have led to the retention of many words and forms which have become obsolete in their native country.

GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS.

I.—NOUNS.

SINGULAR.

	Old Norse.		*Old Irish.*		*Sanscrit.*	
	Masc.	*Neut.*			*1st decl.*	*5th decl.*
Nom.	sonr	fat	menme	bith	s'ivas	sarit
Gen.	sonar	fats	menman	betho	s'ivasya	saritas
Dat.	syni	fati	menmin	biuth	s'ivāya	sarite
Acc.	son	fat	menmin	bith	s'ivam	saritam

The old Norse has retained *r*=*s* as the sign of the nominative, in which it agrees with the Sanscrit.

The genitival form *sonar*=*sonas*, neut. *fats*, bears a closer relationship to the Sanscrit *s'ivasya* than the Irish

betho, and is almost identical in form with *saritas*. In the Ir. *menman*, the *s* of the Sanscrit has been changed into *n*.[3] In Irish, as in Gaelic, the vowel varies. It is frequently *a*, as in *feola*, gen. of *feoil* (flesh); sometimes *i*, as in *celi*, gen. of *cele* (companion); and in feminine nouns often *e*, as in *cuiache*, gen. of *cuach* (a cup). The old High German form, *chrefti*, gen. of *chraft*, is allied to the Keltic *celi*, and answers also to the Gaelic and Irish vowel-changes in the substitution of the weaker *e* for *a*, from the influence of the genitival *i*. In the Gaelic and Irish the terminational vowel has, in most declensions, been lost, but its influence is still manifest in the inserted vowel of the genitive. Thus *baill*, gen. of *ball*, enables to reproduce the ancient *balli*. The old Norse *syni*, dat. of *sonr*, shows the working of the same law. The Welsh language has lost all trace of case-endings, but in Cornish there is a sign of their existence in the change of the vowel of the root in the genitive case. *Merh*, gen. of *marh*, answers to the Gaelic *osaig*, gen. of *osag*, and indicates the terminal vowel *i* or *e*. Mr. Norris[4] supposes that there is a faint trace of such a change in the preposition *erbyn=er pen*, with which he compares the ancient Irish *ar chenn* (to the head), "in front of," "against," and Ir. *cinn*, gen. of *ceann*.

The ancient Keltic dativa form appears to have been *u*, or *iu*, existing in *celiu* from *cele*, and indicated by the form *biuth=bithu*, from *bith*, though sometimes it is softened into *i*, as in the old Norse *syni*. In the old Norse adjectives, we have *blindum* as the masculine, and *blindu* as the neuter, dativa form. The *iu* of *celiu*, assuming *cel* as the root, will correspond closely to the Sanscrit *ya;* and the forms *syni*, *fati*, point to an earlier form, *syniu*, for which the adjectival form *blindu* is a warrant. The old Norse *blindum* may be compared to the Irish *menmin*.

The old Norse has lost all trace of a case-ending for

[3] Bopp, über die Keltischen Sprachen, 215.
[4] Cornish Grammar, p. 18.

the accusative, and it is rare in the Keltic languages. In the former the accusative is the root of the noun unchanged, as *son*, accusative of *son-r*, agreeing with the Irish *bith;* but the old Irish has the form *menmin*, approximating to the Sanscrit *s'ivam*.

PLURAL.

Old Norse.		*Irish.*		*Sanscrit.*	
Synir (fiskar)	föt	menmin	betha	s'ivās, neut. s'ivāni	saritas
Sona	fata	menman	bithe	s'ivānām	saritām
Sonum	fötum	menmanib	bithib	s'ivebhyas	saridbhyas
Sonu	föt	menmana	bithu	s'ivān, fem. s'ivās	saritas

In the old Norse the nominative plural *fiskar*, for *fiskas*, corresponds to the Sanscrit *s'ivās*, though the length of the final vowel has been contracted, as in the Sanscrit *saritas*. The correspondence is closer than in the Irish *betha*, which has lost the final *s;* but the relationship of the Irish *menmin*, and still more of the form *anman*, from *ainm*, with the Sanscrit *s'ivāni* and the modern German form *ochsen*, (English *oxen*,) from *ochs*, is striking.

In the genitive, the old Norse has lost a final *m*, which is also commonly wanting in the Keltic languages, though appearing in the form *menman*, and always in the definite article, as *na fir* (the men), *nam fear* or *feara* (of the men); *na dorsan* (the doors), *nan dorsa* (of the doors). The use of the terminal *m* or *n* in the article may have contributed to its neglect as a case form in the noun.[5]

The old Irish form *ib* or *ibh* bears a close resemblance to the Sanscrit *bhyas* (Latin *lapid-ibus*), but the old Norse *um* may be compared with both; *m* being in the Keltic languages, and therefore presumably in other members of the Aryan family, a representative frequently of an older *b* or *f* [cf. Welsh *mèn* (a waggon)=*ben; mas* (death), in comp. *fas;*=Gaelic *bas*]; on the other hand, *f* often represents a primitive *m*, as *pluf*=Latin *pluma*, and *prif*=Latin *primus*. It is evident that *m* and *b* are interchangeable letters, and thus the old Norse *sonum*

[5] Bopp, über die Keltischen Sprachen, 208.

may be connected with the Irish *bithib* and the Sanscrit *s'ivebhyas*. The change of the vowel may be ascribed to the preference of the Scandinavian people for the stronger vowel sounds. The *ö* in *fötum* and *föt* is not always found in the older MSS. of the Icelandic; *au* is frequently used. The *u* is to be attributed to the influence of the final vowel *u*, and indicates in the nominative and accusative an older form, *fatu* for *fata*, by which these cases approximate to the Sanscrit *saritas*, and become identical with the Irish *bitha*.

THE VERB.

The conjugation of the verb in the old Norse has lost many of the primitive forms. The old Irish approximates here more closely to the Sanscrit, but there is sufficient similarity between the Keltic and the old Norse to indicate their derivation from a common source.

PRESENT TENSE.—SINGULAR.

Old Norse.	*Old Irish.*	*Sanscrit.*
1st pers. kalla	cairim	bhavāmi
2nd pers. kallar	cairi	bhavasi
3rd pers. kallar	cairid, cairi, cara	bhavati

The old Norse has lost the final *m* of the first person, which is retained in the Irish, and indicated in the Breton *kanann*, for *kanam*, and the Welsh *dysgaf* (in old Welsh *dysgam*); but in the second person the *r* of *kallar* represents the primitive *s*, which the Irish has lost. The primitive form has been retained in the Breton *kanez*, and in the *t* of the Welsh *wyt* (thou art), for *wys*, with which the imperfect *dysgit*, and the perfect *dysgaist*, may be compared. The old Norse has retained *t* for *s* in the conjugation of the verb to be; *em* (I am), *ert* (thou art); and the *s* in the form of *z*, in some of the irregular verbs; as from *vita* (to know) we have *veit*, *veizt* (for *veitz?*), *veit*. Some of the irregular verbs have *t;* as from *skulu* we have *skal*, *skalt* (English *shalt*), *skal*.

The third person in the old Norse is the same as the second in the regular verbs, and in the irregular as the first. In the Keltic languages, as in the Hebrew past

tense, it has generally reverted to the form of the root; as the Welsh *dysg* (he teaches), or retained only the original vowel *a*, as the Welsh *dysga*, Irish *cara;* but in the old Irish we find the form *cair-id* for *car-it*, closely related to the old Gothic form *-ith*, and the Sanscrit *-ati*.

PLURAL.

Old Norse.	*Old Irish.*	*Sanscrit.*
1st pers. köllum	caram, caramit	bhavāmas
2nd pers. kallith	cairid	bhavatha
3rd pers. kalla	cairet	bhavanti

The Breton has *kanomp*, *kanit*, *kanonnt*, and the Welsh *dysgwn*, *dysgwch* (for *dysgwth*), *dysgant*. The similarity between the Irish and Breton and the old Norse is obvious in the first and second persons. They agree also closely with the Sanscrit. In the old Norse, the third person has lost the terminal *-nt*, which the Breton and Welsh have retained completely, while the Irish has contracted the form into *-t*. The old Gothic form *-and*, and the old High German *-ant*, are identically the same as the Breton *-onnt*, and the Welsh *-ant*. In the Welsh we find, as Lhuyd pointed out in the beginning of the last century, the origin and meaning of the terminational form; for *ant*, sometimes *ynt*, may be assigned to the Welsh *hwynt* (they).

In the perfect tenses the old Norse and the Irish agree more closely than either of them with the Sanscrit; but the Irish accords, as the other Keltic languages, with the Sanscrit in prefixing a sign of the tense. In Irish the usual prefix is *ro* or *ru*, but sometimes, as in the Welsh and Sanscrit *a*.

	Old Norse.	*Old Irish.*	*Sanscrit* (imp.)
Sing.	talda	ru-burt (root, bir)	a-bhavan
	taldir	ru-birt	a-bhavas
	taldi	ro-bart	a-bhavat
Pl.	töldum	ro-bartmar	a-bhavāma
	tölduth	ro-bartid	a-bhavata
	töldu	ro-bartatar	a-bhavan

In Irish the first person plural often ends in *-am;* the third in *-at* for *-ant;* as *ro-charsam* (we loved, root, *car*),

and *ro-charsat* (they loved), agreeing with the Welsh *buasom* (we have been), *buasant* (they have been), and the Sans. *abhavāma* and *abhavan* for *abhavant*. In old Irish we meet sometimes with the form *id* or *ed* in the third person, as *loitid* (root, *-lot*) (he wounded), and *luited* (it fell),[6] which is closely allied to the old Norse *taldi* (he reckoned), from the root *tal;* to the Gothic *nas-ida* (he saved); old High German *nisit;*[7] and the modern German *redete* (he discoursed).[8]

The termination of the infinitive in the old Norse, *-a* or *-u*, agrees with the Welsh *-a* or *-u* and the Breton *-a*.[9] The Sanscrit form is *tum*, agreeing with the Latin *supine*. In Irish there are, as in Welsh, many terminational forms of the infinitive. The Irish forms *um*, *tin*, have a trace of the Sanscrit *tum*. The absence of the Sanscrit form in the Keltic and Teutonic languages, and the similarity of the forms in these latter languages, may warrant the supposition that the termination *tum* was not the only one in use at the time when the Aryan races formed one family, or that it is comparatively a late invention, unknown when the Keltic and Teutonic races separated from the parent stock, though brought into use before a portion of the Latin race left their distant seat in the East. However this may be, the relationship of the old Norse and the Keltic infinitive is evident.

In the old Irish, the infinitive is often expressed by prefixing a preposition, as *do rat* (to give), equivalent to the German form *zu thun*, and the English *to do*.

The present participle in the old Norse, *kallandi*, *fallandi*, agrees with the Sanscrit form *-at* for *-ant*, as *bhavat* (being), and the Latin *-ans*. There are traces of this termination in Gaelic and Irish in the form *inn*, used as a

[6] Stokes, Introduction to Old Irish Glossaries, pp. 49, 11.

[7] Diffenbach, Wörterbuch der Goth. Sprache, ii. 119.

[8] For the origin and meaning of these German tense-forms, see Bopp's Comp. Gram., sec. 620.

[9] In the ancient Sanscrit of the Vedas *u* is added to verbs, and also to pronouns, in which it agrees with the Welsh forms, as *e. g.*, *mal-u*, to make small, to grind, from *mal*, small, and *hwna*, "that," from *hwn*.

sign of the infinitive and the present participle; thus from the root *tig* we find *a thiginn* (to come), and *a tighinn* (coming), the latter being equivalent to the English *a-coming* for *at-coming*. Probably in the Welsh *myned* (to go), (for *mynend?*) *yn myned* (going), as in the Breton *da gahout* (for *gahont?*) (to have, and also in or for having), *o cahout* (having), we have a trace of the same formation. In Welsh we have *car-ad* (for *carand?*) a loving, endearment, from *car*, which is now called a substantive, but is properly a participle, agreeing with the Sanscrit *bhavat* (being).

RELATED WORDS.[1]

CLASS I.

NAMES OF PERSONS.

Old Norse.	*Keltic.*
Afi, a grandfather.	Gael. and Ir. *ab*, a father, a lord. Lat. *avus*.
Ar, *ari*, a servant. Sans. *ari*, an enemy?	Ir. *ara*, a servant. Gael. and Ir. *ar*, a bond, a tie; *arach*, a bond, restraint, authority.
Borr, *bur*, a son. Sans. *bara*, a son-in-law.	Gael. and Ir. *bar*, a son. W. *barus*, mischievous?
Brana, a virago, a heroine. Sans. *bradhna*, masc. a son.	Gael. and Ir. *brann*, a woman.
Brodir, a brother. Sans. *bhratri*, brother.	Gael. and Ir. *brathair*, *id.* W. *brawd.*
Dalt, a young child. Sans. *taluna*, youth; *talunī*, a young woman.	Gael. and Ir. *dalta*, a foster-child; *daltachas*, fostering. Ir. *dala*, a brood.
Fadir, father. Sans. *pitri*.	Gael. and Ir. *athair*, for *fathair*, *id.*
Feima, a woman, a modest woman; *feim*, shame, modesty. Sans. *vamini*, a woman, *bhīma*, fear.	Gael. *feim*. Ir. *fem*, *femen*, a woman.
Fenia, a large or impudent woman. Sans. *vamini*, a woman, *vāmā*, *id.*	Ir. *fem*, *femen*, a woman. Gael. *feimi*. Fr. *femme*.

[1] The authorities for the old Norse words are,—Halderson, Lexicon Islandico-Latino-Danicum, 1814; Egillsson, Lexicon Poeticum Antiquæ Linguæ Septentrionalis; Holmboe, Norsk og Keltisk.

For the Keltic words,—Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary; O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary, (O'Donovan's Edition,) 1864; Pughe's Welsh Dictionary; De Villemarqué's Breton and French Dictionary.

For the Sanscrit,—Sanskrit-Wörterbuch von Böhtlingk and Roth, Petersburg; Dictionnaire Classique Sanscrit-Francais, par Emile Burnouf; Les Origines Indo-Européennes, Pictet, Paris, 1863.

Old Norse.	*Keltic.*
Gali, a careless man, a fool; *galinn*, a fool.	W. *gwall*, defect, failing, neglect.
Gala, a large or impudent woman.	
Gawr, a giant. Sans. *guru*, large, heavy, tall.	Gael. and Ir. *caile*, a girl, a vulgar unchaste woman.
Genta, a petulant maid; *giente*, a maid. Sans. *jan*, to beget, bring forth; *jana*, masc. a man; *jani*, a woman, a mother.	W. *cawr*, a giant, a chief; *gor*, high, extreme.
Gna, (1.) a woman, a goddess; (2.) a kind of tree.	W. *geneth*, a maid, a daughter. Gael. *i-gheann*, a girl, a daughter. Gael. and Ir. *gean*, a woman, love; *giente*, begotten.
	Ir. *gnae*, a woman. Gael. *gnia*, a servant; *gnais*, pudendum muliebre; *gnaoi*, gentle. Gael. and Ir. *gnia*, a tree.
Harri, a lord, a hero. Germ. *herr*. Sans. *arya*, *ari*, a lord; *sāra*, excellent.	Gael. *sar*, a hero, a great man. Ir. *sar-ab*, the chief abbot; *er*, great, noble.
Hler, the god of the sea. Sans. *lī*, liquefaction; *lip*, to anoint; *lavana*, salt, salt water.	Gael. and Ir. *lear*, the sea. W. *llaer*, a rippling of the waves; *lli*, a flood. Gael. and Ir. *lo*, *la*, *lua*, water.
Iarl, an earl.	Gael. and Ir. *iarla*, prim. *iar-flaith*, pron. *arlath*, a viceroy, lit. "a secondary chief."
Karl, a man.	W. *carl*, a clown, a rustic. Gael. and Ir. *cearn*, a man.
Kona, a woman.	Gael. and Ir. *coint*, a woman.
Kumba, a maid-servant.	Gael and Ir. *cumhal*, a maid-servant, a bond-woman, subjection.
Lubbi, a lazy servant. Sans. *lamba*, great, gross?	W. *llob*, an unwieldy lump, a dull gross fellow.
Magr, a relation; *mögr*, a son.	Gael. and Ir. *mac*, a son. W. *mab*.
Maki, a partner, a wife. Dan. *mage*.	Ir. *macaomh*, a girl. Gael. *maca*, like, equal; *macha*, a termagant.
Man, a man-servant, a maid. Dan. *moe*. Sans. *manu*, man; *manas*, mind.	Gael. and Ir. *mo*, a man, a slave. Lat. *homo*.
Modir, mother. Sans. *mātri*, mother.	Gael. and Ir. *mathair*, *id*.
Narungr, a leader, a ruler (Holmboe). Sans. *nara*, a man, properly of the noble, *i.e.*, the Aryan race (Ved.); *nrī*, to lead, to rule.	W. *ner*, a lord, God. Bret. *ner*, a lord.
Nidr, a son.	Gael. and Ir. *naoidh* (*naid* or *nid*) a young child, an infant.
Patti, a little boy; *ped*, a dwarf. Sans. *putt*, to be small.	W. *peth*, a fragment; *pitw*, little; Fr. *petit*.
Pucki, a demon.	W. *pwci*, a puck, a hobgoblin, or sprite. Ir. *puca*, an elf, a sprite.
Pusa, a bride. Sans. *push*, to nourish, to enjoy, to possess (Vedic)?	Gael and Ir. *pos*, to marry; *posadh*, wedlock. Fr. *epouse*. Lat. *sponsa*.
Puta, a harlot. Sans. *pūy*, to be fœtid; part. *pūta*. Lat. *putidus*.	W. *putan*. Br. *puten*, a harlot. Ir. *putar*, rotten, corrupt. Gael. *puthar*, a sore, an ulcer.
Run, a female partner or companion.	Gael. *run*, mystery, love, a person

Old Norse.	*Keltic.*
	beloved; *runach*, a sweetheart, a confidant. W. *rhin*, a secret, a charm.
Skalkr, a wag, a knave. Germ. *schalk*. Sans. *khala*, base, vile.[2]	Gael. *scalag*. Ir. *scalog*, a man-servant; *scal*, a man.
Tiggi, a king. Sans. *tik*, to assail, attack? *tikta*, sharp, bitter, piquant?	Ir. *tiagur*, a chief; *tig*, power, ability.
Thengill, a lord, a king. Sans. *dhanika*, rich, great; *dhana*, fruits of the earth.	Gael. and Ir. *tanaiste*, a ruler; *tan*, a country; *tanas*, dominion; *gille*, a young man.
Thrall, a slave.	Gael. and Ir. *trall*, a slave. W. *trallod*, affliction. Gael. and Ir. *tra*. W. *tro*, a turn. W. *troell*, a turning, a wheel.
Tröll, an evil spirit.[3]	Gael. and Ir. *truaill*, to corrupt, defile, destroy.
Vara, a goddess, a nymph; *verr*, a man (Holmboe). Sans. *vīra* a man, *varadā*, a girl.	Gael. and Ir. *fear*, a man.

CLASS II.

NAMES OF ANIMALS.

Old Norse.	*Keltic.*
A, a sheep. Sans. *avi*, *id.*	Gael. and Ir. *ai*, a sheep. Ir. *oi*, *aoi*, *id.*
Alca, a sea-fowl, said to be speckled, black and white.	W. *elcys*, wild geese.
Apli, the young of an animal.	Gael. and Ir. *ap*, any little creature. W. *ap*, and *map*, a son.
Blæsma, a female sheep desiring the male. Sans. *bhlās*, to shine, to burn.	W. *blys*, longing, inordinate desire.
Bleyda, a bitch. Sans. *plava*, a bound, a bounding animal, an ape, a sheep, an antelope (?)	W. *blaidd*, a wolf. Br. *bleiz*, *id.*
Boringi, a raven.	Gael. Ir. and W. *bran*, a raven; *bran*, black.
Buckr, a he-goat. Sans. *bukka*, a goat, a ram; *bukk*, to cry, to bleat.	W. *bwch*, a buck; *bwch-gafr*, a he-goat. Gael. and Ir. *boc*, a he-goat.
Bu, an ox, a cow, a sheep, a goat.	W. *buw*, *bu*, an ox, a cow. Gael. and Ir. *bo*, a cow; *bua* in *buachaill*, a herdsman; *buacar*, cow dung.

[2] Schoebel says that *khala* means also a valet, which is probable, as the root *khal*, means to bind.—(*Anal. Const. de la Lange Allemande*, p. 120.) Cf. the German, *knabe*, English, *knave; varlet*, Old French for *valet;* and *thief*, in Gothic, *thefis*, a servant, a slave.

[3] "Trolds know no joy
But the good to harass, the fair to destroy,
They dream but of treason, and strife, and blood."
—*Oehlenschläger.*

Old Norse.	*Keltic.*
Dorri, a ram, or goat.	Br. *tourz*, a ram. Gael. and Ir. *dorr*, rough, harsh?
Dreki, a dragon.	Gael. and Ir. *draic*, a dragon. W. *draig*, a fiery serpent. Ir. *dreige*, a meteor.
Eikr, *eykr*, a draught horse; *ess*, a mare, a draught horse. Sans. *as'wa*, a horse; *asu*, *id.* (Ved.)	Gael. and Ir. *each*, a horse. W. *osw*, a steed.
Fe, cattle, money.	Gael. *feudeil*, wealth, wealth in cattle. Ir. *fedoil*, cattle.
Finke, a finch.	W. *pinc*, a finch, smart, fine.
Gedda, a pike. Dan. *giedde.*	Gael. and Ir. *gead*, a spot, a star in a horse's forehead, a pike.
Grey, a little dog. Sans. *kukura*, a dog (?)	Gael. *gregh.* Ir. *grech*, a hound.
Hœna, a hen. Dan. *hœne.* Germ. *hahn.*	Gael. and Ir. *eun*, a bird, a fowl. Ir. *ean*, *en*, *id.*
Hafr, a he-goat. Pers. *chapush*, *id.*	W. *gafr.* Gael. and Ir. *gabhar*, a goat.
Hrutr, a ram.	Gael. and Ir. *reite*, a ram.
Hundr, a dog. Sans. *s'van.*	Gael. and Ir. *cu*, gen. *cun.* W. *ci*, pl. *cwn*, a dog.
Iörp, a bay mare; *iarpr*, a bay or brown horse; *irpa*, a dusky woman, a bay or brown mare.	Gael. and Ir. *iar*, dusky, black, evening, the west; *earb*, a roe.
Kapall, a mare.[4] Sans. *chapala*, rapid. Pers. *kawal*, a horse.	Gael. and Ir. *capall*, a horse, a mare. W. *ceffyl*, a horse. Lat. *caballus.*
Keila, a kind of codfish.	Ir. *ceilliuin*, a codfish.
Kirna, a hen. Sans. *kur*, sonare; *kurankara*, an Indian crane. Zend. *karhka.* Pers. *kark*, a hen.	Gael. and Ir. *cearc*, a hen. Ir. *cir*, *ciren*, a crest, a cock's-comb.
Langa, the lang, or ling; *lingvi*, *a* snake. Sans. *lang*, to move, to leap.	Gael. and Ir. *langa*, *id.*; *ling*, to dart, to bound.
Madkr, a worm. Dan. *madike.* Sans. *matka*, a bug (?)	W. *mad*, a worm, a serpent.
Maur, an ant. Hind. *mor*, *id.*	Gael. and Ir. *moirb*, an ant.
Nit, a nit. Dan. *gnid.*	W. *nedd*, *id.* Ir. *snid*, a nit. Gael. and Ir. *sneidh*, small, little.
Orkn, a seal. Sans. *rakta*, red, saffron, copper.	Gael. and Ir. *orc*, a salmon, a whale, *earc* (*arc*), red, a reddish brown, a cow, a bee, honey, a salmon, heaven.
Orn, an eagle, *ari*, *eru*, *id.* Goth. *ara.* Old Germ. *aro*, *id.*	W. *eryr*, an eagle. Corn. *er.* Gael. and Ir. *iolar*, *id.*
Ox, an ox. Sans. *ukshan*, a bull, an ox.	Gael. and Ir. *agh*, a heifer, a bull, a cow. Bret. *ochen*, an ox. W. *ych.*
Purka, a sow. Old Germ. *farh*, a pig.	W. *porch*, a pig. Gael. and Ir. *porc*, *id.*

[4] In the Kawi vocabulary of Sir S. Raffles, *kapala*, no doubt derived from the Sanscrit, is interpreted "a horse." The Greek καβάλλης, Russian and Polish *kobila*, Hungarian *kabala*, Lithuanian *kummele*, show the wide extent of the term.—(Pictet, *Orig. Europ.*, p. 348.)

Old Norse.	*Keltic.*
Saudr, sheep. Sans. *ēdakā*, a sheep, a wild goat (?)	Br. *saoud*, cattle. Gael. and Ir. *saidh*, a bitch; *saith*, a bitch, a horse. W. *eidion*, bullock. Ir. *aodh*, a sheep.
Sig, (Dan.) a hound. Sans. *sūchaka*, a dog; *siga*, (O. N.) to hound on.	Gael. and Ir. *sagh*, a bitch.
Sild, a herring.	Br. *sili*, an eel. W. *sil*, issue, spawn, fry. Gael. and Ir. *siol*, seed, spawn.
Skarfr, corvus marinus.	Gael. *scarbh*. Ir. *sgarbh*, a cormorant.
Tarfr, *tiur*, *tyr*, a bull. Dan. *tyr*. Sans. *sthira*, a bull.	Gael. *tarbh*. W. *tarw*, *id.* Lat. *taurus*.
Trana, a crane.	Gael. and Ir. *traon*, *traona*, a landrail.
Valr, a falcon.	W. *gwalch*, a crest, a hero, a falcon; *gwalc*, hair turned up, the cock of a hat, a fence. Lat. *falco*. Ir. *faolchon*.
Vargr, a wolf. Sans. *vrika*, a wolf.	Ir. *breach*, a wolf. W. *blaidd*, *id.*

CLASS III.

NAMES OF THINGS INANIMATE.

Old Norse.	*Keltic.*
Ægir, the sea; *ogr*, *id.*	Ir. *aigean*, *aigeil*. W. *eigion*, abyss, ocean. Gael. *aigeal*, an abyss, the deep, ocean. Ir. *aigiol*, the bottom of a valley, the bottom of any depth. The Languedocian *aigo*, water, may give the primitive sense. Gael. and Ir. *oiche*, water. Lat. *aqua*. Lat. *oceanus*.
Al, a rein. Dan. *æl*.	Gael. and Ir. *iall*, (*all*,) a leather thong, a strap.
Andi, breath. Sans. *an*, to breathe, to go.	W. *anal*, *anadl*, breath. Gael. *anail*. Ir. *anal*, breath, air.
Ardr, a plough; *aur*, stony earth, mud. Sans. *arv*, to break, divide (?)	Gael. and Ir. *ar*, land, ploughing, tillage, to plough. Gael. *aradair*. Ir. *arain*, a ploughman. W. *arad*, a plough; *erw*, ploughed land. Lat. *aro*.
Att, a region or quarter.	Gael. and Ir. *aite* (*at*), a place, a region.
Aul, ale.	W. *il*, fermentation; *ilio*, to ferment.
Balk, a fence, a defence.	W. *balc*, a balk of land; *bal*, a prominence; *balch*, prominent, towering. Gael. and Ir. *balc*, a ridge of land, great, mighty, stout; *balach*, a giant, a stout fellow.
Ball, the scabbard of a sword; *bali*, a little hill, a convexity; *bollr*, a globe, a ball; *beyla*, a hump. Sans. *bala*, great, strong.	W. *bwl*, a round hollow body; *bòl*, the belly; *bwlch*, a hollow; *bwlg*, a bulky round body, bulk. Gael. and Ir. *ball*, a ball, a globe; *bolg*, a wallet.

Old Norse.	*Keltic.*
Bara, a wave, the sea. Sans. *vār*, *vāri*, water.	Gael. and Ir. *bior*, water; *bioras*, a water-lily.
Barka, a boat.	Gael. and Ir. *barc*; *barcq*, a small ship. W. *bàr*, the branch of a tree. Gael. and Ir. *barr*, a top or summit, a branch.
Batr, a boat.	Gael. *bat*, Ir. *bad*, W. *bàd*, a boat.
Baugr, a ring; *bokki*, a large man.	Gael. and Ir. *bocan*, a hook, a cottage, a covering. In Gael. also, a mushroom; *boc*, to swell out; *bochd*, to swell, grow turgid.
Bioth, the earth. Sans. *bhu*, to be; *bhava*, existence, the world.	W. *byd*, the world or universe; *bydan*, a little world. Br. *bed*, the world.
Blys, a torch; *blossr*, flame; *lios*, flame. Sans. *bhlās'*, to shine.	Gael. and Ir. *blas*, warmth, heat; *leus*, a blaze, a flame, a torch.
Both, *böd*, a fight. Sans. *badh*, to strike, to kill.	Gael. and Ir. *bath*, slaughter; *batail*. W. *batel*, a fight. Fr. *bataille*.
Bras, brass. Sans. *āra*, brass.	Gael. and Ir. *pras*, *prais*, brass; *prais-ballach*, strong fortification, having strong limbs. W. *prês*, brass. Ir. *iris*, bronze.
Bringr, a little hill. Sans. *vāra*, a heap.	W. *bryn*, a hill. Gael. and Ir. *bri*, a hill. W. *bri*, eminence, dignity.
Broddr, a goad, a sting.	Gael. and Ir. *brod*, *braid*, a goad, a sting.
Brok, breeches; *brækur*, *id.*	Gael. and Ir. *breachan*, a tartan, a chequered cloth. W. *brych*. Gael. and Ir. *breach*, spotted, streaked; *briogois*, *briocan*, breeches.
Brun, an eye-brow. Sans. *bhrū*, *id.*	Ir. *bra*, *brai*, an eye-brow.
Bumbr, the belly.	W. *pwmp*, a round mass; *bwmp*, *bwmbwr*, a hollow sound (Eng. *boom*).
Buppi, a man of ostentation, a pompous man.	Gael. and Ir. *boman*, a boast, a brag; *bomanach*, a swaggering fellow.
Buna, foot of an ox.	Gael. and Ir. *bun*, W. *bwn*, the bottom or lowest part of a thing, a base or foundation.
Bur, a cot, a cupboard.	W. *bwr*, an inclosure; *bwra*, a croft or inclosed land near a house. Gael and Ir. *bor*, *borr*, a knob, a hump; *borra*, a swelling; *borraigh*, borage.
Byla, *byle*, an axe, a hatchet.	W. *bwyell*, an axe. Gael. and Ir. *builleach*, a stroke, a blow. Ir. *buill*, a mallet.
Dalkr, the dorsal spine of fishes; a pin, or brooch.—*Egillsson*. *Dolkr*, a staff with a sharp point.	Gael. and Ir. *dealg* (*dalc*), a thorn, any pointed thing; *dealgach*, sharp-pointed.
Dalr, a valley; *dala*, a hollow, a gap. Germ. *thal*. Eng. *dale*.	Gael. and Ir. *dail*, a valley, a plain; *dal*, a share, a lot, land possessed by a tribe, a plain, a dale, a tribe.

Old Norse.	*Keltic.*
Dallr, a tree in full leaf. Sans. *dala*, a leaf.	W. *dail*, leaves, foliage. Br. *delien*, a leaf. Br. *delia*, to put forth leaves. Gael. and Ir. *duille*, a leaf; *duillich*, to flourish, to put forth leaves.
Dam, a pit of water.	Gael. and Ir. *dam*, a conduit, a reservoir; *dobhar*, *dur*, W. *dwr*, water. Gael. and Ir. *dob*, a river, a stream (root, *da* or *do?*).
Daus, the breech; *des*, a tumulus, a heap; *dys*, *id.* Sans. *dhāsas*, a hill.	W. *das*, a heap, a stack. Gael. and Ir. *dais*, a heap, a pile.
Duni, fire; *tyndra*, to sparkle, to flash; *tundr*, tinder. Sans. *dahana*, fire.	W. *tan*, fire. Gael. and Ir. *teine*, fire. W. *tandod*, ignition; *tandde*, an inflammation. Gael. and Ir. *teintigh*, fiery; *teintreach*, sparks of fire.
Esia, marsh land.	Gael. and Ir. *uisge*, water; *easc*, *id.*; *eas*, a stream; *ia*, land (the *ia* of *patria*, *Italia*, &c.?)
Eyri, the bank of a stream, the boundary of a field.	Gael. and Ir. *oir*, a hem, fringe, border, end, boundary. Lat. *ora*.
Eysa, ashes. Sans. *ush*, to burn.	Gael. and Ir. *as*, to kindle a fire. Ir. *asain*, a furnace.
Falr, the end of a sword or spear. Sans. *phala*, the point of a sword.	Gael. and Ir. *fal*, a circle, a bend, a fold, a scythe, a spade. Lat. *falx*.
Fiara, the shore, the coast at low water. Sans. *vār*, *vāri*, water.	Gael. *fairc*, land sometimes covered by the sea—(M'Alpine); *fairg*, Ir. *fairge*, the sea, a wave; *fual*, water.
Finnar, boils, pustules.	Gael. *foinne*, Ir. *fainne*, a wart; *faine*, a ring. The root is *ainn*, a circle, a ring. Lat. *annus*, *annulus*. In Ir. *ain* means a circle, an eye, a rush, a ring, from the idea of roundness.
Fit, (1.) rich marshy land; (2.) the membrane in the feet of birds (membranula inter digitos avium. —*Egillsson*).	Gael. and Ir. *feath*, *feith*, a morass, a bog. Gael. and Ir. *feith*, a sinew. Ir. *feithin*, a tendon.
Flet, a little bed.	Br. *fled*, an open bed, a couch. Ir. *flet*, an edge, a rim. W. *ffle*, a hem round, closure?
Fönn, snow massed together; *fenna*, to snow.	Gael. and Ir. *fionn*, white; *fonal*, cold.
Gœra, a sheep's skin with the wool on. Sans. *chari*, animal; *charma*, leather.	Gael and Ir. *caor*, a sheep. W. *cor* in *corlan*, a sheep-fold.
Gaffal, a fork.	Gael. and Ir. *gaf*, a hook, any crooked instrument. W. *gafl*, a fork.
Galm, a bend or fold.	W. *cwlwm*, a knot, a tie. Br. *koulm*, *id.* Hind. *kalmi*.
Geiri, fire; *grisl*, a baker's shovel.	Ir. *goor*, light. Gael. *gor*, light,

Old Norse.	*Keltic.*
Sans. *jhala*, light. Sans. *ghāsi*, fire; *grīshma*, hot.	heat. W. *gwres*, heat; *greian*, the sun (the Apollo *Grannus* or *Grynæus* of classic authors); *graid*, hot. Gael. and Ir. *gris*, heat. Gael. and Ir. *grideal*, W. *greiddel*, a baking iron or stone, a griddle.
Giola, a cold blast; *giothr*, *id.*; *gustr*, *id.* Hind. *ghola*, a cold blast.	Gael. and Ir. *gall*, a puff, a blast, a gale. Gael. *gaoth*, Ir. *geoth*, *gust*, the wind, a blast.
Gisl, a pledge. Dan. *gidsel.*	W. *gwystl*, a pledge. Gael. and Ir. *geall*, a pledge, a mortgage.
Gnöpp, a prominence; *napa*, a turnip; *knappr*, a little ball.	Gacl. and Ir. *cnap*, a knob, bunch, button, a hillock. W. *cnwp*, a ball, a round mass. Lat. *napus.*
Gor, hay in the first stomach of ruminants.	W. *gwair*, hay. Gael. and Ir. *feur*, *id.*
Gor, excrement, dung. Sans. *karda*, *id.*	Gael. and Ir. *gaorr* (*gorr*), excrement, dung, dirt.
Griot, a stone. Sans. *grāvan*, a stone.	Gael. *grioth*, a pebble. Ir. *grothal*, sand, gravel. W. *grut*, pron. *grit*, grit, gravel.
Grom, an old spot or stain.	Gael. and Ir. *gron*, a stain, a blot.
Grönn, a beard. Sans. *rōma*, hair, the beard.	Gael. and Ir. *greann*, *grinn*, uncombed hair, a beard.
Grutr, dregs of train oil.	Gael. and Ir. *gruid*, sediment, dregs.
Gull, the cheek, an inflated mouth. Sans. *gala*, throat.	Gael. *goill*, a blubber cheek. Gael. and Ir. *goile*, throat, stomach.
Gunn, a battle; *gunni*, a warrior. Sans. *han*, to strike, to kill.	Ir. *gumha*, a fight. Gael. and Ir. *goin*, a hurt, a wound; *guin*, to wound.
Hœll, a heel. Dan. *hœl.*	Gael. *sail.* Ir. *sâl*, a heel. W. *sail*, Br. *seul*, a foundation, a base.
Hallr, a stone; *hella*, a rock; *silā*, a stone, a rock.	Gael. and Ir. *ail*, a stone; *caill*, a testicle, prim. a stone. W. *caill*, *id.* Gael. and Ir. *cailleadh*, castration. Eng. *geld?*
Heid, a people, race, tribe.	W. *haid*, a swarm.
Herkir, (1.) fire. (2.) a giant. Sans. *ark*, to burn; *arka*, the sun; *karka*, fire.	Gael. and Ir. *earc* (*erc*), red; also, the sun, heaven. Gael. and Ir. *earg*, a champion, a hero.
Hiōr, a sword. Sans. *s'iri*, a sword.	W. *hèr*, a push, a thrust; *hers*, a sharp push; *herc*, a thrust forward.
Hixt, a sob.	W. *ig*, a sob, a sigh; *igio*, to sob.
Hlad, a mound, a dyke. Sans. *kūla*, rampart, dyke.	W. *clawdd*, *cladd*, a mound, an embankment, a dyke. Gael. and Ir. *cladh*, *id.*
Hlif, a shield, or arms of defence; *laufi*, a sword.	W. *glaif*, a sword. Gael. and Ir. *chaidheamh*, pron. *kliyio*, a sword, the spar of a spinning wheel. W. *cledd*, *cleddyf*, a sword, a cross piece of timber put across the boards of a door.
Hlin, a kind of tree.	W. *celen.* Br. *kelen*, the holly.
Hlaun, a thick buttock.	W. *clûn*, the hip.

Old Norse.

Hlust, an ear. Sans. *s'rōtas*, an ear.

Hnorr, a merchant ship; *knor*, a ship.
Hnua, a tuber.

Hnuckr, a round swelling on the top of a hill; *hnacka*, the back of the head; *hnikill*, a ball, a round mass. Sans. *naga*, a hill.
Hold, flesh. Sans. *kulya*, flesh.

Holt, a wood.
Hôpr, a crowd, a troop.

Hræ, a corpse. Sans. *kravya*, flesh. Gr. κρέας.
Hraukr, *hruga*, a stack, a heap; *rauk* (dial.), *id.*

Hrith, time; *rith*, *id.* Sans. *ri*, to go; *rīti*, movement.
Hraun, a projecting, a cliff.

Hrogn, the ova of fish. Sans. *rohana*, the seed of man.
Hrotti, a sword; *hroth*, a breastplate. Sans. *rishti*, a sword (?)

Hrys, brushwood, a twig.
Hver, a cauldron. Sans. *karka*, a vessel, a pitcher.
Hvila, a bed.
Hvammr, a little valley. Sans. *kūma*, a lake, a pool.
Hyr, fire.
Kadall, a rope; *kedia*, a chain, a torque.

Kafi, a shower, a dense rain. Sans. *kapha*, lymph, foam (?)
Kalar, dirt, dung.

Kâl, cabbage. Sans. *kul*, to heap; *kula*, body (?)

Kam, a spot, a stain.
Kar, squalor, dirt, refuse. Sans. *karda*, dung, dirt.
Karfa, *korf*, a basket; *karfi*, a ship.

Keltic.

W. *clust*, an ear, *clywed*, to hear. Gael. and Ir. *claus*, an ear.
Gael. and Ir. *cnarra*, a ship.
W. *cnu*, a round bunch. Gael. and Ir. *cno*, *cnu*, a nut.
W. *cnwc*, a swelling, a lump, a knob. Gael. and Ir. *cnoc*, a knoll, a round hill.

Gael. and Ir. *colan* (root, *col*), a carcase, flesh.
Gael. and Ir. *coille*, a wood.
Gael. and Ir. *coib*, a troop; *cob*, *coib*, plenty. Lat. *copia*.
Gael. *cre*, a body. Ir. *cri*, the heart, a body.
W. *crug*, a stack, a pile, a heap. Gael. and Ir. *cruach*, a pile, a rick; *ruc*, a rick.
Gael. *roid*, a little time. Gael. and Ir. *rith*, a flight, a course.
W. *rhyn*, Gael. and Ir. *rann*, a promontory.
Br. *rog*, *rogez*, the ova or spawn of fish.
Gael. *cruaidh*, a sword, a spear; also, steel, hard. Ir. *cruaidh*, steel, hard. Lat. *crudelis*.
Gael. and Ir. *ras*, a shrub, underwood.
Gael. and Ir. *coire*, a cauldron.

W. *gwely*, Br. *gwalé*, a bed, a couch.
W. *cwm*, a valley. Br. *komb*. Ir. *cumar*, a valley.
Ir. *ur*, fire (Old Irish Glossary, p. 60).
W. *cadwyn*, *cadwen*, a chain or band; *cadw*, to keep, to hold, to guard. Lat. *catena*.
W. *cafod*, *cawad*, a shower, a scud of rain.
Br. *kalar*, *kagal*, dirt, mud, dung. W. *cagal*, the dung of sheep or goats. Gael. Ir. and W. *cac*, excrement.
W. *cawl*, a stem, a stalk, (Lat. *caulis*,) cabbage, pottage. Gael. *cadhal*, Ir. *cal*, kale, cabbage.
Gael. and Ir. *caim*, a spot, a stain.
Gael. and Ir. *gaorr*, Br. *karz*, dirt, dung.
Gael. and Ir. *carb*, a basket, a waggon, a ship; *corb*, a waggon. W. *cor*, a round, a circle; *corff*, a body. Lat. *corbis*, *corpus*.

Old Norse.	*Keltic.*
Kaun, an ulcer.	Bret. *koenv*, an ulcer. Gael. and Ir. *conach*, the murrain.
Kér, *kiorr*, a marsh, a bog.	Gael. and Ir. *carr*, *carrach*, a marsh, a fen. W. *cors*, *id.*
Keipr, a rower's bench.	Gael. and Ir. *ceap*, a block.
Keiri, a thong, a whip.	W. *carai*, a thong.
Keis, a paunch; *kassa*, to heap; *köss*, a mass, a heap. Sans. *chiti*, *chitā*, a mass, a heap.	Gael. and Ir. *ceos*, a hip, a buttock; *ceosan*, a bur; *ceor*, a mass, a lump. Gael. and Ir. *gas*, a tuft, a bunch.
Kelta, the bosom.	W. *cylla*, the stomach. Gael. *goil*, Ir. *goile*, the throat, stomach. Lat. *gula*.
Kesia, a lance, a spear. Sans. *kāshta*, wood (?)	Gael. and Ir. *gais*, *ceis*, a lance.
Keppr, a club or stick; *kefli*, a round stick, a roller. Sans. *kambi*, stem of the bamboo.	W. *cebr*, Br. *kebr*, a rafter. Br. *kef*, the trunk of a tree. Gael. and Ir. *ceap*, a block.
Keckr, *kecki*, a lump of meat in soup; *kiuka*, the flesh under nails or hoofs.	W. *cig*, flesh, especially of beasts. Gael. and Ir. *cua* (for *cuac?*) flesh, meat.
Kioll, a keel.	W. *cil*, a ridge.
Kios, *qvos*, a narrow valley. Sans. *kuhara*, a hole, a cavity.	Gael. and Ir. *cuas*, a hollow, a cavity.
Klackr, a rock.	Gael. *clach*, Ir. *cloch*, a stone.
Klafr, a basket, a pannier; *klapr*, a rude rustic vessel.	Gael. and Ir. *cliābh*, a basket, a cage.
Kleppr, a tumour; *kladi*, scabies, scurvy. Sans. *klaivya*, weakness; *klam*, to be afflicted; *klama*, affliction.	W. *clefri*, *clafar*, scurvy, leprosy; *clwyf*, disease. Gael. and Ir. *claimh* (*claf*) scurvy.
Kluka, a little heap; *krogi*, an infant swaddled in clothes.	W. *crug*, Br. *krugel*, a heap, a pile, a hillock.
Klutar, an old cloth, a rag.	W. *clwt*, a patch, a rag.
Koddi, a pillow.	W. *cŵd*, a bag.
Kofi, a hut.	W. *cwb*, a hut, a kennel.
Kollr, the head or skull; *kulle*, *id.*; *kolla*, a vessel without handles.	Ir. *coll*, the head. W. *cŵl*, a basket, a round korb.
Kolga, a wave, swell of the sea.	Br. *houl*, a wave.
Kot, a cabin.—(*Verel.*) Sans. *kuta*, a tree, a house; *kut*, a sack, a tuber.	Gael. and Ir. *coite*, a small boat, a hut.
Krasi, delicacies.	Gael. and Ir. *craos*, a large mouth, gluttony, revelling; *craosach*, wide-mouthed, gluttonous; *craosair*, an epicure, a glutton; *craosal*, revelry, drunkenness. Fr. *carouser*.
Krit, chalk.	Gael. and Ir. *criadh*, earth, clay.
Kro, a little cot.	Gael. and Ir. *cro*, a hovel, a sty. W. *craw*, *id.*
Krof, the body—(*Verel*); *kurfr*, a little trunk or stock.	Gael. and Ir. *corp*, a body. Lat. *corpus* (root, *cor*, round).
Kufl, a cap.	W. *cwflen*, a hunting cap.
Kuggi, a boat; *kaggi*, a cask, a keg; *kuggr*, a merchant vessel.	W. *cwch*, a boat. Ir. *coca*, *id.* Gael. and Ir. *cuach*, (*cuc*,) a drinking cup, a bowl.

Old Norse.	*Keltic.*
Kulpa, to swell out; *kalfi*, the calf of the leg. Sans. *chal*, to nourish; *chala*, flaccid, swagging; *galbh*, to be strong.	Gael. and Ir. *calpa*, the calf of the leg. Ir. *calp*, the head (Eng. *scalp?*) Gael. and Ir. *colpach*, a heifer; *galba*, stout, brawny.
Kyli, an ulcer, a tumour.	Gael. *coil*, a cock of hay. Ir. *coil*, a corner (root, *col*, anything of a round swelling form).
Lag, a hollow; *lagd*, *id.*	Gael. and Ir. *lag*, a hollow, a dell, a pit.
Lag, a blow, a stroke.	W. *llach*, a blade, a stroke.
Laukr, any succulent herb.	Gael. *luigh*, *luidh*, Gael. and Ir. *luibh*, an herb. W. *llysiau*, herbs.
Lær, the thigh.	Gael. and Ir. *lairge* the leg, the thigh.
Ledia, mud, mire.	Gael. and Ir. *lud*, a pond, a puddle. Gael. *lith*, a pool. W. *llad*, in *lladgawd*, a vessel for holding water (root, *lua*, *la*, water).
Leid, a way, a course. Sans. *lay*, to go.	Gael. and Ir. *lad*, a water-course.
Leira, gleba—(*Verel*); *leir*, clay, mud.	Gael. and Ir. *leirg*, a plain, a road; *learg*, *id.*
Lior, *liofr*, a window. Fr. *louvre.*	W. *llwyf*, a frame, a loft.
Lioski, the pubes.	Gael. and Ir. *slios*, a side or flank. W. *llost*, a tail.
Litr, a colour, a dye. Sans. *lōdhra*, a dyeing plant (symplocus racemosa).	Gael. and Ir. *lith*, a colour, a dye, a tint.
Locar, a plane.	Gael. and Ir. *locar*, a plane. Gael. and Ir. *liomh*, to polish, smooth, brighten. Ir. *liobhadh*, smoothing. [An older *c* is not unfrequently softened into *f* (*mh* or *bh*), *caol*=*faol*, a lump; *coisg*, to quiet=*fois*, quiet; *fiodh*=*coid*, wood; *nigh*, to bathe, W. *nawf*, a swim, &c.]
Lom, an oar handle (dial.); *hlummr*, round poles for moving boats; *lonn*, round trunks of trees on which ships are rolled into a winter station.	Gael. *lonn*, a stake, a bar, a blade. Ir. *lonn*, props of a boat before launching.
Lon, a pool or marsh.	Gael. and Ir. *lon*, a morass. Ir. *loin*, a rivulet (root, *lo*, water).
Lumma, a large hand; *lam*, the hand; *lofi*, the palm of the hand. Sans. *labh*, to take, to hold.	Gael. and Ir. *lamh*, the hand. W. *llaw*, for *llaf*, Corn. *lof*, the hand.
Lurkr, a club, a stick.	Gael. *lorg*, Ir. *lorga*, a staff, a stalk.
Lysi, light. Dan. *lys; lios*, *id.; lisa*, to make manifest. Sans. *lōch*, to see; *laksh*, *id.*	Gael and Ir. *leus*, *leas*, a flame, light; *leis*, light, sight, visible. W. *llug*, light; *llygad*, the eye, eye-sight.
Mœnir, the top or ridge of a house; *mönn*, a mane.	Gael. and Ir, *muin*, the top, neck, back. Gael. and Ir. *muing*, a mane.

(To be continued.)

ST. DAVID'S.

By MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, B.D., F.R.S.L., F.S.A., Præcentor and Prebendary of Chichester Cathedral.

[AUTHORITIES.—Browne Willis's Survey, 1716; History and Antiquities, by Jones and Freeman, 1856; Anglia Sacra, ii. 628, 648, 652; Sir R. C. Hoare's Giraldus Cambrensis, i. 35; Monasticon, vi. 1308; Willis's Mitred Abbeys, ii. 349–51; G. G. Scott's Report, 1862.]

THE city is now only a poor, secluded village, severed from the busy world. Its Cathedral, built on a western promontory nearest to the setting of the sun, as it has been beautifully suggested, in a position symbolical of that dominion which reaches "from the one sea to the other." "The Tower," says a popular writer, "seems the symbol of truth ascending unto heaven; the rest of the building radiating from this centre typifies, in its bisecting lines, pointing to the four quarters of the earth, the universal empire of the Church, that as it is intended for, so it must ultimately embrace, all mankind." Giraldus spoke of it "as forlorn and remote, exposed to the attacks of Flemings and Welshmen," and said its site, called the "Vale of Roses," would be more appropriately called the "Valley of Marble." Sir R. C. Hoare called it the "British Loretto, now the Palmyra of Saxon antiquity." It contains two old houses in Nun (St. Nonna) Street; the High Cross, a monolith, near Tower Gate; Burghers' Well, with an arched covering, on the hill above the Vicars' College; and Nun's Well, covered with a barrel-vault. The country on every side is wild, desolate, barren—a moor covered with heather and gorse, and the Cathedral stands in a ravine, with pyramidal piles of trap rock raising their huge bulwarks round it; ruins, shapeless heaps, and unroofed walls, render the scene profoundly gloomy; and there are no trees except some few gnarled stems and weather-beaten tops in the hollows. Yet the road to the church was known by thousands of pilgrims as the Meider Saint, the "Holy

Way." Druidical remains, and fragments of medieval chapels, evince the religious character of the neighbourhood at remote and various periods. "On the east," said Defoe, "the hills darken the air with their height." It was here William II. made the boast, "I will bring all my ships hither, and make them a bridge for my army," having seen, it is said, the dim outline of Ireland beyond the channel. Prince Murdach, of Leinster, when the speech was related to him, asked, "Did he add, 'if God will,' to his mighty threat?" "No," was the answer. "Then," replied the sagacious prince, "since that man trusts to human, and not to Divine power, I fear not his coming."

THE CATHEDRAL OF SS. ANDREW AND DAVID.

Most beautiful, most desolate,
It was St. David's ancient pile, chancel, nave, tower, and windowed aisle,
And skirting all the western side, a palace fair in ruined pride;
With storied range in order set, and portal, arch, and parapet,
There hiding from the haunts of men, in hollow of the mountain glen,
Religion's venerable hold, with wrecks and ruin manifold,
Burst full on the astonished eye, hoar in sublime antiquity.

The exterior, in consequence of its exposure to the sea air, and a damp climate, was never ornamented; but it is now in a calamitous state of dilapidation, and a considerable portion of the eastern portion is positively roofless, long abandoned to decay. For years the interior was white-limed; the stones were green with moss, dank with rain, and dripping moisture from the walls, while the Nave presented no floor but damp earth. After a while, rough flagstones were laid down as a pavement, and the white-wash was removed. The west, north and south sides of the Tower are dangerously fissured; and the whole nave is thrown westward, so that all the pillars are out of the perpendicular, and the arches damaged and crippled. Happily, now the whole fabric is in course of efficient restoration, by Mr. G. G. Scott. From the

Close Gate, on the east, the view embraces the whole length of the Church, backed by the ruins of the Palace; from the north-east, the roofless portions of St. Mary's College and the Chapter-House are included, and a bright brook, rich in speckled trout, brawls along through the little valley; from the north-west, seen by moonlight, the landscape is exceedingly impressive.

Architectural History.—St. David's was burned by the Saxons in 812 (*Ang. Sac.* ii. 648); by Uther in 911; by Godfrey, son of Harold, in 981; and in 986 by the Danes, whom Prince Meredith bribed to retire by a payment of one penny for every man in the district, called the "tribute of the black army." It suffered again in 1000; 1011 by the Saxons; 1071, and 1078, when Bishop Abraham was killed; and in 1088, by sea-pirates. —(*Ibid.* ii. 649.) In 1086 (*ibid.* ii. 649) St. David's Shrine was despoiled of its jewels.

The Cathedral, dedicated to SS. Andrew and David, is of noble architectural character, and great historical interest, although always isolated out of the way of all but a few enthusiastic travellers, and now in a forlorn and dangerous condition. It was built on swampy ground, by Archbishop Sampson, in the tenth century, and consecrated in 1131 (*ibid.* ii. 649; *Ann. Camb.* 39): it was again rebuilt 1180, or 1182, (*ibid.* 55; *Ang. Sac.* ii. 649,) (contemporaneously with the eastern portions of Canterbury, and works at York and Durham, and equal to them in grandeur of conception, and in beauty and refinement of details,) by Bishop de Leiâ, who scarped the hill until he laid bare the spring which saturates the soil, and was afterwards regarded as the miraculous Pystill-ddewi. The plan then commenced appears to have been exactly co-extensive with the present building, with the exception of the chapels eastward of the Choir and Transept. The Central Tower fell at Martinmas (*Ang. Sac.* ii. 650; *Ann. Camb.* 75) in 1220, and the Choir and eastern sides of the Transept, owed their general design to the reconstruction after this calamity; and a second general reparation was rendered necessary,

owing to the injuries done by an earthquake in 1249. St. David's was begun 1274 (*Ann. Camb.* 104; *Ang. Sac.* ii. 651). The Chapel of St. Thomas, of Canterbury, was a little later than 1220, but only a small portion of the original structure remains. A terrible earthquake in 1248, caused the fall of a great part of the Church on February 17th (*Ann Camb.* 37; *Ang. Sac.* ii. 650). Bishop David Martin, 1296–1328, in a great measure *c.* 1300 rebuilt St. Thomas' Chapel, erecting over it the *Chapter-House*, and the *Treasury* in the storey which surmounts it; but the latter stages have been also referred to Bishop Gower. The Choir Aisles, about the middle of the thirteenth century, were prolonged to the eastward, and connected towards their ends by a cross-aisle, having on its east side arches prepared to open into a Lady Chapel, by which arrangement a void space was left open between it and the Presbytery, so as to avoid interference with the east window. About 1300, Bishop Martin either erected or greatly enlarged the Lady Chapel, and probably carried up the Tower within one stage of its present height, though this storey has been referred also to Bishop Gower, 1328–47, who reconstructed or remodelled the entire *Aisles* of the Nave, the Choir, and Eastern Chapels, heightening those of the Nave, and rebuilding the *South Aisle*, and inserted the great window of the north arm of the Transept. The *Rood Screen* was also then erected. Bishop Vaughan, 1509–22, converted the void space beyond the east end of the Choir into the Trinity Chapel, at the cost of the loss of the east window. In the fourteenth, and at the commencement of the following century, the roofs, including the gorgeous *Nave ceiling* the upper storey of the *Tower*, and the windows in the front of the south arm of the *Transept*, were completed.

Ground Plan.—The Church consists of a Nave, of six bays, with aisles; a South Porch, of two storeys; a central Tower; a Transept, each arm being of two bays, with an aisle used for sacristies, on the east side of the South arm; and St. Thomas' Chapel, with the old Chapter-House and Treasury above it, on the east side of

the north arm; a *Choir* formed under the Lantern; and a Presbytery of four bays, with aisles; the *Trinity Chapel* on a lower level, both having aisles; a Processional Path with aisles projecting on the north and south; and a Lady Chapel, of two bays. The material employed is Caerfai sandstone for the portions built previous to the Perpendicular period, and Somersetshire oolite for the later parts.

Dimensions of the Cathedral in feet.

Total internal length, 298 feet.

	Length.	Breadth.	Height.	
Nave	127.4	70	45.8	
Tower	27	27	116	(Lantern, 67)
Transept	129	27.3	45	
Choir and Presbytery	53.6	70	45	
Eastern and Lady Chapels	27			

Area, 21,950 feet.

I.—*The Exterior.—The West Front,*—entered by the Bishop's door, which is only opened on ceremonial occasions, is an execrable composition with massive arched buttresses, erected for safety by Mr. Nash, 1793. In the Nave, the clerestory, which retains a corbel table, has two windows in each bay, short and broad, with a flat pilaster between. The *North doorway*, which led to the Cloister Cemetery, is Norman; the southern entrance is through a Porch with a quadripartite vault which has a parvise over it; the window and outer doorway are Perpendicular; the inner doorway is Decorated, with traces of a Jesse-tree on the arch. The Aisles are filled with large three-light Decorated windows; and on the north one retains the original tracery: on the south the bays are divided by buttresses with plain octagonal pinnacles, and on the north by flat pilasters. The original buttress-turret remains on the south-west. Three large and uncouth masses of stone, serving as buttresses, on the north side, were built before 1549, the fourth is later, to check the outward thrust of the walls owing to the crippled state of the Tower.

II.—*The Transept* retains, in its north and south fronts, Norman flat turrets, with angle shafts, and more recent octagonal terminations. A large Decorated north window has lately been erected; in the south front, four Perpendicular windows have been inserted, in two stages, with a segmental-headed opening above. The gables in both fronts have Perpendicular openings. A blocked Norman doorway, and a window, remain in the north front.

III.—The tall massive *Tower*, which has a top-heavy appearance, rises in three stages: the lower is Norman, with angle-shafts: to this succeeds, divided from it by a string with the ball-flower ornament, the second stage, added by Bishop Gower, 1328–47, Decorated, which on each face has a long belfry window of two lights, set between two niches, with loops above it. The upper storey, of Perpendicular date, is plain; and has an open parapet with eight hexagonal pinnacles, crowned with small domical terminations, and polygonal clustered angle-shafts: a flat octagonal shaft runs up the middle of each face of the Tower, having lancets, with depressed heads, on each side.

IV. V. VI.—*The Choir and Presbytery.*—The Clerestory, composed of broad lancets, rises over roofless aisles; and retains its corbel-table: the walls have been raised and embattled. Square turrets, with angle-shafts, formerly flanked the corners of the Choir and Aisles. Over the still remaining triplet was a quintet of lancets, with lateral niches, which have been replaced by a Perpendicular window. The *Aisles* are Early English, with Decorated alterations. A Decorated buttress, with a rich pinnacle, abuts on the south side; the original northern turret remains, with a plainer pinnacle.

VII.—*The Lady Chapel* is Transitional Early English, with Perpendicular additions; it had an open parapet; the east end is flanked by semi-hexagonal turrets, with heavy pinnacles.

1.—*The Interior.*—*The Nave*, *c.* 1180, is highly ornamented, spacious and massive. The pillars are alter-

nately round and octagonal, with attached shafts at the cardinal points. The round pier arches are enriched with the chevron, and other late Norman ornaments: above these is a string-course, which is joined by arches filled with delicate mouldings, and continued like a rear arch round and above a deeply recessed clerestory of round-headed windows, curiously amalgamated with a triforium of couplets in each bay. In the spandril between each pair is a circle, alternately ornamented with a star and an interlacing pattern.

The Transitional character of the architecture marks the important transition from ruder art into refinement and true artistic feeling. It is slightly behind contemporary works in England, in the employment of the round arch, which was used, probably, owing to a desire to avoid undue height, for the details, the carved foliage, and ornamental masonry, exhibit skill and taste of first-rate order. The whole building was prepared to receive sexpartite vaulting, which was never carried out.

The floor slopes from east to west following the natural inclination of the site. In the third bay on the south from the east, a fresco marks the site of St. Catherine's altar; there is a plain ogee-headed stoup near the south door. The elaborate ceiling of Irish oak, built by Owen Pole, Treasurer, and completed by foreign artists, *c.* 1508, is flat, and paneled with carved Tudor pendants. The octagonal marble *Font* is rudely arcaded. Until 1844 the pulpit, as at Bristol and Ely, stood in the nave; being set against the second pier from the east, on the south side. The roofs of the aisles are rough and rude; but there is on the south aisle the framework of an ornamented ceiling, but very imperfect.

2. *The Transept*, Transitional Norman, shows a peculiar form of incipient Gothic, resembling that of Somerset and Bristol. Two Norman doorways form the entrance from the nave; in the east wall in each arm are three arches, one forming the approach to the choir-aisle, and the others serving as altar recesses. The ceiling is modern. The foliage employed bears a remark-

able similarity to that of the same period at Wells. The north and south walls, and the pillars, are *c.* 1220, the west walls, *c.* 1180. *The South Arm* is called the Chanter's or Chancellor's Chapel, and was converted into a parish church in 1844. The central arch in the east wall contained St. David's altar; that of the Holy Innocents stood in the next bay to the southward. The south wall contains two tiers of four-light Perpendicular windows, within a round arch. *The North Arm* is lighted by a large Decorated window, inserted 1844, when two similar windows were inserted in the nave aisle. It contained St. Andrew's and St. Stephen's altars: two image-brackets remain. A portion of the space, inclosed by a screen on the north side, was used as a Confessional, according to Willis, but was, more probably, a vestry. In St. Andrew's Chapel, Dr. Glynn was buried, in 1540. —*Cole MS.* xxvii. fol. 158 b. On the east side, *St. Thomas' Chapel*, *c.* 1220, retains a Decorated vaulting, and a graceful Early English drain. It was first used as a Chapter-House, July 25, 1829. Above it is the original *Chapter-House* (lately a boys' school), containing a Decorated fireplace, and furnished with a garde-robe: over this room again is the ruinous *Treasury*, mainly of the fourteenth century. This arrangement accounts for the singular appearance of three windows, one above the other, in the east wall, which is flanked by two remarkable buttresses.

3. *The Crossing.*—Three of the fine Lantern arches built after the fall of the Tower in 1220, with the two eastern piers, are pointed, whilst the fourth on the west, with its two piers of the time of De Leiâ, is round. The massive stonework which backs the screen has done much to preserve the Tower; and, at a later period, the Western and Southern arches were entirely walled up for increased security in the superstructure. The sides of the next, or triforium storey, are enriched with a decorative arcade; that on the north consisting of eight Pointed arches; the rest are Early English. The shafts of the eastern arch were corbelled off to admit the choir stalls.

The wooden ceiling rests upon Perpendicular stone springers. A beautiful *Rood-Loft*, erected by Bishop Gower, and restored, 1844, is of five compartments, and shuts off the staircase to the loft. The cornice, of oak, was added by some Oxford men in 1847. On the north side was the altar of the Holy Cross (*Ang. Sac.* ii. 651); its water drain remains; on the south was St. John's altar, and its cinquefoiled stoup may be seen on the square respond of the nave. The southernmost compartment contains the tomb of Gower; above the next compartment is a niche. The peculiar vine-leaf and fan-leaved flower ornament in the choir arch should be observed. The staircase and adjoining bay are masked by a wall, surmounted with a triplet, having singular capitals, and by a decorative battlement. Over the doorway of the choir is a skeleton vaulting, like that in a passage leading out of the south choir aisle at Bristol. The vaults of the tomb recesses are groined.

4. *The Choir*, *c.* 1220, occupies the space under the Lantern. It contains twenty-eight canopied *Stalls*, Late Perpendicular, erected by Bishop Tulley, 1460–81. The Dean and Præcentor sat at the west end; the Chancellor and Treasurer occupied the extreme east ends, the southern side having precedence. The painted ceiling of the choir bears the arms of Bishops Tully and Martin, 1461–83. There is a fine old pavement of encaustic tiles. The clerestory is composed of lancets widely splayed, with the chevron ornament in the jambs. The *Organ*, built by Schmidt, was improved by Lincoln, 1843. The *Throne*, the gift of Bishop Morgan, who died 1504, on the south side, is 29 feet high: it consists of three canopied stalls, one for the bishop in the centre, and the side seats for the Collateral Canons. Decorated and Perpendicular forms are curiously confused in the woodwork. The low partition surrounding it is *c.* 1342. The book desk rests on the stand of a lectern of the sixteenth century. Between Richmond's tomb and St. David's shrine are some broken tiles, which tradition says bear the marks of the hoofs of Cromwell's horse.

5. *The Presbytery* is *c.* 1220. A Late Decorated Chancel screen, *c.* 1342, an unique feature, parts off the Sanctuary; it is composed of a series of Pointed arches filled with tracery, rising from a solid paneled basement. The four bays comprising the Choir and Presbytery have massive pillars, alternately octagonal and circular, with clustered shafts, supporting Pointed arches. The altar stands under an exceedingly rich triplet, with Norman and Early English details, walled up by Bishop Vaughan, below which runs an embattled band, carried over an intersecting arcade of round-headed arches. On the step to the Sanctuary is the mortice for the Paschal candlestick, or a stone Gospel lectern, a rare relic of ancient ritual. The Perpendicular east window of seven lights, *c.* 1467–83 was built by Bishop Vaughan, in place of an east triplet and group of windows above it. The latter are now in progress of restoration. The Transitional vaulting-shafts, which terminate a little below the string under the clerestory, support Decorated pillars with rich capitals. In the centre of the east end of De Leia's church has been discovered a niche, 5 feet by 4 feet 3 inches broad, in which is a pierced Maltese cross, 1 foot in diameter, with four incised crosses facing the arms. Human remains were built into the masonry. The *South Aisle* is roofless, but retains a cinquefoiled drain, and a projecting bracket, which were attached to St. Edward the King's Chapel, *c.* 1328–47: in the *North Aisle* there is a Rood built into the wall; a trefoil-headed drain marks the site of St. Nicholas' Chapel, *c.* 1248, with additions, 1328–47.

6. *The Trinity Chapel*, 16 feet broad, on the east side of the Presbytery, was built by Bishop Vaughan, 1509–23. It has a vault of two bays, fan traceried, and retains two tabernacles, two squints, the high place of the altar, and two stone parcloses towards the eastern chapels of the aisles.

7. *The Lady Chapel* is roofless. It is Transitional Early English, and is parted off from the Processional Aisle by a couplet of Early English arches; it retains

its sedilia; the large windows are Perpendicular insertions.

VIII.—Two pilgrimages to St. David's Shrine were declared, by Pope Calixtus II., to be equivalent to one visit to Rome, and three were regarded as equal to a journey to Jerusalem. King William I. was here in 1079, and Edward I. and Queen Eleanor, on November 26, 1284 (*Ang. Sac.* ii. 651). Over the brook lay the Llechllafar, "the talking stone," which had cracked indignantly in sunder when a dead body was carried across it. At Easter, 1171, Henry II. came hither as a pilgrim from Ireland, attended in procession by the Chapter from the "White Gate;" whilst he was passing to the Cathedral, a Welshwoman, who was disappointed in her petition, invoked his death, according to Merlin's prophecy, by a man with a red hand.—(*Giraldus, Hibern. Expug.* c. xxxvii., *ap. Camd.*, 778.; *Itin.* l. ii. c. i.; *ibid.* 867.) Giraldus relates that the jackdaws were so long unmolested by the Clergy, that they had grown so tame and domesticated, as not to fear any person dressed in black. The shock of an earthquake, seven centuries since, is still perceptible in the bulging north wall of the nave, and now £30,000 would be required in order to put the church into a state of seemly and wholesome repair. It is a disgrace to the whole Church, and all England. The little chapels near the sea-side, adjoining the landing-places, were built in order to attract the alms of seamen and passengers, and visits by pilgrims. The offerings thus made were carried to the Cathedral, and divided every Saturday among the Canons and Priests. In 1716, people belonging to the church remembered (it is said) that, in the Chapter-house, these alms were apportioned by basin's full, the quantity being so great as not to allow leisure to tell it.

IX.—*The Principal Monuments.*

1. *Nave.*—South aisle, easternmost bay, a priest, effigy, in a Decorated recess, with a stellated canopy like those in Bristol Cathedral and Tewkesbury Abbey; second

bay from east, Bishop Morgan, died 1504, high tomb and effigy with good sculptures. A Flemish cross; incised slabs; a sepulchral recess, near the south door.

2. *The Transept, North Arm.*—A stone table with a Perpendicular parclose; the shrine of St. Caradoc, died 1124; near it are some sculptures in stone of the Crucifixion and four Apostles. Here was St. Stephen's altar.

3. *Rood Screen.*—St. John's Chantry. Bishop Gower, died 1347, high tomb, with sculptures and effigy, before the Reformation inclosed by a brass palisade on the south and west; two Canons, D. Barret, and J. Gome, effigies; they were his contemporaries.

4. and 5. *Choir and Presbytery.*—Centre, Edmund (Tudor) Earl of Richmond, father of Henry VII., died 1456, panelled high tomb of Purbeck marble. *North Side.*—Third arch from the east, St. David's Shrine. He died 542; a plain Transitional Early English tomb, *c.* 1275, with four quatrefoiled apertures for offerings, and three niches emptied of the images of SS. David, Patrick and Denys. *West to East.*—Rhys ap Gruffyd, died 1196, small effigy; his son Rhys ap Gryg (the hoarse), Prince of South Wales, died 1233. The tombs are of the close of the fourteenth century. S. Lloyd, Treasurer, died 1612, high tomb, canopy and effigy, Cinque-cento. Two Early English recesses. *South Side, East to West.*—A Knight, effigy, of the latter part of the fourteenth century, with a Late Perpendicular canopy over it. Bishop Anselm, died 1248, effigy. A Bishop, low tomb and effigy.

Choir Aisles.—North.—Archdeacon Hiot, died 1419, effigy, with a crucifix in the wall. *South Side.*—Canon Wogan, effigy, under a Decorated recess. *North Side.*—A knight, effigy, under a Decorated canopy. *South Wall, West to East.*—A priest, effigy, in high relief; a priest, effigy, under a Decorated recess; a cinquefoiled Decorated recess. *North Side, West to East.*—A priest, effigy, of the time of Bishop Gower; a knight, effigy, of the latter part of the thirteenth century, half only remains.

7. *Lady Chapel, South Side.*—Bishop Martyn, died 1238, high tomb and canopy. *North Side.*—Bishop Fastolfe, died 1361, effigy.

X.—The *Chapter* is composed of a Dean and four Canons. Until the Act of 1840, the Præcentor was President of the Chapter, there being no Dean; his house is now the deanery. The names of one Cardinal, E. Welshman, John, first Reader in King Alfred's School at Oxford, H. Price, founder of Jesus College, Oxford, Rees Richard, Chancellor, the poet, the late Archdeacon John Williams, John Jones, better known as "Tegid," E. Yardley, Archdeacon of Cardigan, and Basil Jones, the local historians, occur among the members of the Cathedral. Manby says that it is a peculiar privilege of this church, that "the King is first cursal." The Vicars-Choral formed a body corporate; there are now three Minor Canons, two Vicars-Choral and six Choristers. There are two daily services, at 10 and 3: on Sundays and Saturday evenings they are choral. The Holy Communion is administered fortnightly. The capitular income, in 1852, was £1529; and in the fourteen previous years, £2000 had been spent on the fabric.

Arms: *Or*, on a cross, *sa.*, five cinquefoils of the field.

A religious establishment is said to have been established here by St. Patrick. St. David, the great opponent of Pelagius, on his return from the Isle of Wight, founded in Menevia ("Mainaw," the Strait) a college of Clergy, who subsisted on the fruits of their manual labour, employing no animal in their work. From the field they returned to the monastery, spending the remainder of the day in reading or writing: at evening they repaired to church at the sound of the bell, remaining in it till the stars appeared. They then went to the Refectory, and after a supper of bread, herbs, and milk and water, spent three hours in watching and prayer. They rose at cock-crow, and spent the time in prayer until day-break. In 861 the College ceased to be a place of education.

XI.—*The Close.*—The cloisters were on the north side of the Cathedral; the School and Library were built over the west alley. The wall of the Close, with a compass nearly one mile in extent, was built 1330. The Præcentor's house adjoins the south part of the inclosure; southward is the Chanter's Orchard, with the "Bridge of David's beer-vat" on the south-west; opposite the north-eastern side of the Palace is the Archdeacon of St. David's house; further north is that of the Archdeacon of Brecon; beyond again is the Chancellor's house, containing a hall and dais; to the east of the latter was the Archdeacon of Cardigan's house, and to the south the Treasurer's. A prebendal house adjoins the bridge. On the north-eastern hill is the *Tower Gate*, 60 feet high; the gateway is flanked by a Transitional Decorated octagonal tower on the north, formerly the porter's lodge, and by a semicircular tower, containing a prison, on the south, and probably designed as a campanile. It formed the Record Office and Consistory Court.

On the north side of the Nave, and separated from it by the Cloister garth, are the remains of *St. Mary's College*, endowed 1377, by Bishop Houghton, with a small plain south-west tower, 70 feet high, and an Early Perpendicular Chapel 69 by 45 feet, erected over a crypt. At the south-east angle was a Sacristy with an upper chamber, built over the Transitional Decorated Cloister, which had north, west, and eastern alleys, the latter uniting it to the west wall of the north arm of the Transept. A covered communication, as at Hereford, thus existed between the Cathedral and College. To the north of the Tower are remains of the Infirmary. No traces of Bishop Houghton's tomb are visible in the Chapel; northward of the latter there are remains of the houses of the Master and seven Priest-fellows, built over cellarage, and forming three sides of a quadrangle, open to the north; on this side there was an entrance gateway tower.

The Priests, who wore the same dress as the Vicars-

Choral, and were under the control of the Præcentor or Treasurer of the Cathedral, were bound to say the Hours and Masses of Requiem, and to perform certain services in the church.

XII.—St. David, on the resignation of St. Dubricius, translated the see from Carleon-on-Usk to Menevia, which in honour was called Tŷ Ddewi, "David's house." The see was once an archbishopric, ruling over Hereford, Bath, Exeter, Worcester, Ferns, Llandbadarn, Margam, and the other three Welsh dioceses, the incumbents of which met St. Augustine in the momentous conference at "St. Austin's ac." There was a succession of twenty-six Archbishops until Samson retired to Dôl, in Brittany, early in the tenth century. From 1115, owing to the subserviency of Bishop Bernard, a Frenchman, the see has been subject to Canterbury. It was the darling object of the lifelong ambition of Giraldus du Barri, commonly called Cambrensis, in which he was defeated by the jealousy of the English Primate, and the detestable double-dealing of the Pope. Among the Bishops occur St. Dubricius, 436–519, and St. David, 519–542, who was canonized by Pope Calixtus II.; Adam Houghton, 1361–88, Lord Chancellor; Gilbert, 1389–1400, Lord Treasurer; Archbishop Chichele, 1408–14; Lyndwood, 1442–6, the canonist; Martyn, 1482–3, Chancellor of Ireland; Ferrar, 1548-53, the first Bishop consecrated according to the English Ordinal, and burned a martyr at the stake; Middleton, 1582–90, deprived for the triple crime of bigamy, forgery, and simony; Rudd, 1594–1614, who boldly reproved Queen Elizabeth and warned her of death; Laud, 1621–35; Mainwaring, 1635–53, on whose grave his faithful dog lay down and died; Watson, 1687–99, deprived for simony; the learned George Bull, 1705–10; Horsley, 1788–94; Hon. W. Stuart, 1794–1801, Primate of all Ireland; and Burgess, 1803–25, founder of Lampeter College, and the present Bishop Thirlwall.

XIII.—On the west side of the little trout stream, the

Alan, and south-west of the Cathedral, are the remains of the once magnificent Palace, built upon cellarage, *c.* 1342, by Bishop Gower, and unroofed by the scandalous Bishop Barlow, in 1536, to provide marriage portions for his daughters. It forms two sides of a quadrangle, 120 feet square; the Bishop's Hall, 67 by 25 feet, and an oblong kitchen, 36 by 20 feet, with a groined vault and central pillar, fronting the east; and the Great Hall, 96 by 33 feet, and Chapel, facing southward. The Great Hall has a beautiful east rose-window, and a magnificent porch, over which are effigies of Edward III. and Queen Philippa. The Chapel has a north porch, and bell-turret, crowned with a broach spire. On the north is the Gateway, with the porter's lodge; and at the north-eastern angle there is a smaller chapel. The parapets, as at Lamphey and Swansea Castle, are arcaded, but not battlemented, and are pierced at intervals straight through the walls without splays, but with a sloped sill: this rampart has an oversailing parapet. Bishop Gower employed an elegant and elaborate but flat style of Decorated work, which appears throughout the diocese: its chief characteristics are a flat four-leaved flower, the wave moulding, intersecting tracery for larger, and flowing multiform in smaller windows, and the peculiar arch noticed in Bristol Cathedral. There were formerly episcopal houses at Trefdyn, Lamphey, Llandewi, Llawhadden, Llandygwy and Morys Castle. The Bishop now resides at Abergwili.

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THE

CAMBRIAN JOURNAL.

ALBAN ELVED.

(AUTUMNAL EQUINOX.)

MEMORIAL OF WALES.

Chairman of the Committee,
GEORGE WHITE, Esq., Mayor of Tenby.

Vice-Chairman,
The Venerable GEORGE CLARK, Archdeacon of St. David's.

Honorary Secretaries,
Mr. R. MASON, F.G.H.S., Treasurer of the Cambrian Institute, and Alderman of Tenby;
Mr. THOMAS REES, one of the Town Council of Tenby.

IT is with peculiar interest that the inhabitants of Wales have watched the progress of this work, ever since its commencement, and the loyal Welsh nation now congratulate themselves upon its successful completion, and its inauguration by His Royal Highness Prince Arthur, who was deputed by Her Most Gracious Majesty to represent her upon this occasion.

That truly Royal courtesy, which is only another word for kindness, may be recognised in the selection of this young Prince on this solemn occasion. The name of *Arthur*, the famous King of the Britons, is most dear to Welshmen, and the Cymry fondly connect it with their country's music by attaching the term "*Telyn Arthur*" (the Harp of Arthur) to the starry constellation of *Lyra;* although under Queen Victoria's government they consciously possess higher privileges, and greater political advantages, than fiction ever forecast of that hero's second reign.

The Poet-Laureate has identified the Prince Consort with an ideal of King Arthur, and portrays him, in the Dedication of the *Idyls of the King*, as being

"A Prince indeed
Beyond all titles, and a household name
Hereafter through all time, *Albert the Good.*"

Perhaps the greatest among the many obligations conferred by our beloved Queen upon her extensive dominions was the choice of such a man for her Consort and Chief Counsellor. Everything that could promote the progress of the people was in turn the object of his care. "The Gospel, and the unfettered right to its use," formed the basis of all his plans. "The principles

of individual liberty, and of allegiance and submission to the will of the community," pervaded all his superstructures. Agriculture, pasturage, and horticulture, the condition of the labouring classes, the welfare of domestic servants, commerce and marine enterprise, manufactures and trades, the learned professions, the education of the young, the development of science, the culture of the arts, the improvement of popular taste, the elevation of popular feeling, the encouragement of literature, the extinction of slavery, the peculiar interests, religious, mental and political, of each several class and order of British subjects, and chiefly of the industrial class, ever found a zealous and stalwart champion in the Consort of our Queen.

On the present occasion the Welsh may with peculiar satisfaction recall his true and lively appreciation of Cymric character, expressed in the address which he delivered when presenting a new stand of colours to the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, July 12, 1849. He acknowledged the distinguished "valour, fortitude, steadiness, and discipline," of that Regiment, from the era of its formation, A.D. 1688, when the liberties of "the country" first found a permanent settlement. He recapitulated that regiment's services at the Boyne, in the capture of Namur, at Blenheim and Oudenarde, at Dettingen and Fontenoy. He celebrated the success of its soldiers in deciding the battle of Minden, their persevering heroism in the American war, their presence in Holland, their alacrity in effecting a landing in Egypt, their martial prowess at Copenhagen, and at the taking of Martinique, their tardy embarkation from Corunna, their achievements at Albuera, Badajoz and Salamanca, at Vittoria, the Pyrenees and Nivelles, at Orthes, Toulouse, and Waterloo. These "glorious records," as he termed them, were familiar to the mind of Prince Albert—he appreciated the Welsh, and the Welsh appreciated him.

His death is mourned by the whole British empire; every section of that empire severally deploring the loss of a particular as well as of a common friend. As a true patriot, a musician, a poet, and an orator, as the possessor of versatile talents and of stedfast principles, whose constant study was to ascertain the rule of duty, and diligently to work it out in daily life, he has especial claims upon the sympathetic veneration of the Cymry. They feel that never was a statue raised to commemorate a truer hero, and like the rest of the British people who experience the great, the multiform, and growing benefits derived from his beneficent deeds, they condense their fondest wishes for the sons of their Queen, and for their own sons, in the earnest, simple, and expressive phrase,—"May they follow the example of Prince Albert the Good!"

ALBERT DDA.

Not by premeditation, but by a zealous concurrence in the act of the loyal Mayor of Tenby (*Dynbych y Pysgod*), the loyal inhabitants of the Thirteen Counties which constitute Wales Proper (*Cymru Oll*), determined to assist in erecting a National Memorial to commemorate the virtues of His Royal Highness Prince Albert, the late exemplary and admirable Consort of the best and best-beloved of British Queens.

The Mayor of Tenby having been the first to suggest this movement, and the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood having adopted it, the Executive Committee acquired a natural right to fix the place for its erection, and the rocky peninsula of the Castle Hill was selected, which has been already declared by the *Times* to be the most suitable site that could have been found in the Principality.

Had it not been for Thomas White, the Mayor of Tenby, who, a little less than four hundred years ago, sheltered the Earl of Richmond in Tenby

Castle, and conveyed that young Prince from Tenby Harbour to Brittany in one of his own vessels, it is probable that England and Wales would never have known a King Henry the Seventh, or the many glorious results of the Tudor dynasty! It is remarkable that Mr. George White, the lineal descendant of that Mayor of Tenby, should now, in the execution of the same office, become also associated with an event which conspicuously connects that town with British history.

On the occasion of the lamented death of the Prince Consort, a subscription was immediately commenced in London for the whole of Great Britain, to which many landed proprietors in Wales subscribed; but this did not satisfy the national feeling of the Cymry, all classes of whom have now had an opportunity of raising a special tribute for Wales alone. On Wednesday the 14th of December, 1864, the third anniversary of Prince Albert's death, the first stone of this Memorial was laid. That stone is a massive block of Welsh marble, and a circular cavity carved in it contains a bottle hermetically sealed, inclosing a roll of vellum, upon which the date, the names of the Committee, and other particulars, are inscribed. It records that the freehold of the site was presented by the Rev. J. H. A. Philipps, of Picton Castle; and that the Memorial is intended to be "a mark of loyalty to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, and of affectionate respect and gratitude to the memory of Her Royal Consort, Prince Albert the Good."

The Monument consists of a majestic Statue of Prince Albert, 8 feet 9 inches in height, carved from a stainless and unflawed block of the finest Sicilian marble. It stands upon a Pedestal 18 feet high, which is formed of grey marble (the native limestone of the district), and has four engraved panels of Sicilian marble.

This Pedestal rests upon a platform, at the top of three ranges of steps, the lowest of which forms a square of 23½ feet.

The blocks of the foundation are grafted into the solid rock, and a mound of earth, neatly turfed, slopes into the Castle Hill, of which it forms the summit.

The Pedestal was built by Mr. George Thomas, of Pembroke, and will be a lasting testimony of his ability as a builder. The work is done in so admirable and elaborate a manner, that it is certain it was honour, not profit, he sought.

The feudal fortress which once occupied the promontory, no longer needed to protect the district against hostile neighbours, now ornaments, with picturesque ruins, the hill, where its keep is fitly supplanted by the Statue of a Prince whose fame as safely rests upon beneficent deeds as this sculptured image does upon its rocky basis. The extensive and beautiful panorama of the site may aptly symbolise the wide and heaven-lit views of his lofty mind.

It would be invidious to compare this Statue of Prince Albert with others which have been raised to his memory in various parts of Her Majesty's dominions; but the manly beauty of the figure, the extraordinary correctness of the likeness, the exact finish of every detail, and, above all, the fine expression of the countenance, full of benevolent feeling, deep thought, and poetic pathos, render this remarkable statue an honour to the Principality, and to the eminent Welsh sculptor who produced it. The figure stands with the head uncovered, and baton in hand, attired in Field-Marshal's uniform, and wearing the mantle and collar of the Order of the Garter, this having been, on state occasions, the costume adopted by the Prince.

The Pedestal is unique in form, and the whole design of the Monument would suffice to win enduring celebrity, if such celebrity had not been already won by previous works of the admirable artist, John Evan Thomas, a native of South Wales (*Brycheiniog*), who, ever anxious for the honour of

his country, has bestowed such inventive thought, and such elaborate workmanship, upon this National Memorial, that it stands forth as one of the finest specimens of the sculpture of our time.

The panel on the right hand of the Statue presents a shield, upon which are sculptured in high relief the arms of the earliest Kings of Wales (*Cymru Oll*), borne by Llewelyn ab Gruffydd, the last native sovereign,—*Gules* and *Or*, four Lions passant gardant counterchanged. The second panel (behind the statue) is distinguished by originality of design; and the elegant grouping of its component forms contrasts happily with the inevitable rigour of heraldic devices, while yet it harmonizes with them sufficiently to insure complete unity of effect. It represents the monogram of Her Majesty and Prince Albert, within an escutcheon, which is supported on one side by the rampant "Red Dragon of Cadwaladr," and the other rests upon a partially recumbent but resilient Leek, a scroll being interwoven inscribed with the old motto,—"*Anorchfygol Ddraig Cymru*"—"the Dragon of Wales is invincible." This dragon is so admirably chiselled, that every part, and each separate scale, seems replete with vigorous alacrity—almost enabling spectators to believe the possibility of such a creature's real existence. King Henry the Seventh raised triumphantly the banner of the Red Dragon at the Battle of Bosworth Field; the Red Dragon was used as a supporter of the royal arms by successive monarchs of his line; and the Red Dragon continues to this day to be the Welsh crest of our British sovereigns.

A druidical origin is ascribed to the emblematic Leek of the Cymry, although tradition refers its more especial honour to St. David's use of it during his ascetic preparation for his public ministry among the mountain solitudes of Llantony, in the county of Monmouth, (previous to his elevation to the Archbishopric of Caerlleon-ar-Wysc, in the same county,) when

"He did only drink what crystal Honddu yields,
And fed upon the leeks he gathered in the fields."

Tradition also records that the Cymric King, Cadwallawn, and his army, wore the badge at the battle of Meigen, A.D. 633, when they vanquished the Northumbrian Angles, and slew Edwin their king.

Art students desiring to attain the power of correctly and gracefully delineating vegetable forms in stone may profitably study the excellent example afforded by Mr. Thomas's sculpture of the most ancient symbol of his country—the Leek.

The panel to the left hand of the Statue bears a shield charged with the Prince's hereditary arms, quartered with those of Her Majesty; and the same skilful care is manifested in the most minute details which makes every division of this noble work complete in itself, and renders the combined whole a monument worthy of him who delighted in trophies of artistic excellence.

The sculptor, Mr. Evan Thomas, presented these beautiful panels, the design and workmanship of which merit all praise, and contain the proper Welsh national accompaniments of a Cambrian Memorial.

The front panel forms a tablet, upon which the following inscription is engraved in large and ancient characters:—"*Albert Dda, Priod Ein Gorhoffus Frenhines, Victoria*"—"Albert the Good, Consort of our Beloved Queen, Victoria." A simple inscription will also record that "This Memorial of His Royal Highness Prince Albert, was raised by the inhabitants of Wales, and inaugurated at Tenby by His Royal Highness Prince Arthur, his third son, on the 2nd day of August, 1865."

The elevation of such a statue does not belong to hero worship; it forms rather an educational incentive to the practice of all excellence. England, (her metropolis and chief cities,) Scotland, Ireland, and the colonies, have

already acknowledged their obligations to this great Prince, by erecting statues to his memory; and Cymric praise, often uttered in the Cymric language upon cottage hearths, stands now embodied in this stately Monument of ALBERT DDA.

Seeking, with resolute desire, the glory of God in the good of man, his philanthropy encompassed all the nations of the earth, and he rejoiced to behold, and to stimulate, their emulative advancement in all useful and laudable pursuits.

"National voices, distinct yet dependent,
Ensphering each other, as swallow does swallow,
With circles still widening, and ever ascendant,
In multiform life to united progression
These shall remain."
"Till truer glory replaces all glory."

INAUGURATION OF THE WELSH MEMORIAL TO THE PRINCE CONSORT.

PRINCE ARTHUR'S VISIT TO WALES.

When persons of exalted station pursue, both in public and private life, a career of virtue, benevolence and usefulness, their conduct must be regarded with unfeigned pleasure and satisfaction by every true and loyal lover of his country; and the Cymry not only quietly cherish, but occasionly publicly display, their appreciation of such a character in some enthusiastic manner, which is both national and appropriate. Either the poetical genius of the Welsh Bard is summoned to celebrate by an Ode, in the Cymric language, the distinguished excellence of the benefactor of the age, or the chisel of a native Sculptor is called forth to demonstrate and perpetuate in a durable form the feelings of the Welsh in regard to his memory.

In a recent instance both the Awen of the one and the chisel of the other have been engaged in perpetuating the recollection of a Royal patriot and a universal benefactor. Thus has it been with reference to the memory of His Royal Highness the truly venerated Prince Consort. The subject of the Chair Poem at the Swansea Eisteddfod, in 1863, was an "Awdl er Coffadwriaeth am y diweddar Dywysog Cydweddog, Albert Dda," *(Ode to the Memory of the Prince Consort, Albert the Good,)* which called forth the glowing and elevating strains of bardic inspiration; whilst the recent erection of the Welsh Memorial, at Tenby, has served to educe and display the artistic skill of the Sculptor.

It is to the successful completion of the latter, and its auspicious Inauguration by His Royal Highness Prince Arthur, to which we now direct the attention of our readers, by a full and accurate account of the proceedings in connection with that ceremony.

On Thursday, July 27th, the Statue arrived at Tenby, having been brought from London to Narberth Road free, by the Great Western Railway Company, and conveyed to Tenby on a strong carriage, provided without charge by Messrs. Davies and Roberts for that purpose. On the following day it was drawn part of the way up the Castle Hill, by a numerous team of horses; from this point it was lifted by a powerful crane upon a truck, and conveyed up the short railway to the base of the Pedestal. It was then framed, and slung in ropes, and readily hoisted to its place on the Pedestal, and there securely fastened by means of copper bolts. The whole was done under the superintendence of Mr. W. M. Thomas, the brother of the Sculptor, Mr. Evan Thomas, and the Architect, Mr. H. Maule Ffinch. On July 29th

and 31st, the boarding that inclosed the Memorial, and the short railway up which the materials for the Pedestal had been conveyed, were removed, and the footways and turf of the slopes repaired.

The Memorial is erected by subscription, and amongst the subscribers to the fund is the Rev. J. H. A. Philipps, of Picton Castle, who presented the site, a plot of land 90 feet square, admirably situated, and valued at £400, the value of which is enhanced by the remaining part of the Castle Hill not being permitted to be built upon, but only to be laid out, as ornamental ground, in public walks, for which purpose it is let to the Corporation on a 99 years' lease.

Lord and Lady Llanover were amongst the earliest supporters of this National Welsh movement, and from first to last have afforded most valuable assistance in many ways.

Messrs. Davies and Roberts, the spirited and liberal Welsh railway contractors, subscribed, when the Memorial was first projected, £20 to the fund, but that was little to what they have done since in labour and materials. They supplied and delivered free the massive block of native marble that forms the foundation stone, lent a number of powerful labourers to remove all obstructions to the approach to the Castle Hill, fixed the wire fencing that surrounds the reserved space about the Memorial, and lastly, put up, at their own expense, the large platform for the exclusive use of subscribers, capable of accommodating 400 persons on the day of the Inauguration.

This national undertaking, however, would never have been achieved without the exertions of Mr. George White, the Mayor of Tenby, who for nearly two years has laboured incessantly for the achievement of the object.

He was cordially assisted by the Rev. George Clark, Rector of Tenby, Archdeacon of St. David's, whose health alone prevented his taking any active part during the last weeks, although he was able in the month of June to take a purpose journey to Buckingham Palace to receive from Sir Charles Phipps Her Majesty's pleasure with regard to the date of the Inauguration, and other arrangements connected with the arrival of His Royal Highness Prince Arthur, as the representative of the Queen. After the indisposition of the Venerable Archdeacon, Charles Allen, Esq., acted as Vice-Chairman, and ably performed the duties he undertook.

It is not fitting that this record of the National Monument of Wales should be concluded without at least naming one of the most indefatigable labourers towards its achievement. We allude to Mr. Richard Mason, one of the Aldermen of the town of Tenby, the well-known publisher, and also Honorary and Acting Secretary, and an able member of the Memorial Committee. Mr. Mason was one of the first to join the Mayor in the determination to commence the Welsh movement for a Memorial of the Prince Consort. He has devoted time and thought unceasingly to the cause, and well may he be satisfied with the result of his persevering labours.

The day fixed by Her Majesty for the Inauguration of the Memorial of Wales was Wednesday, 2nd of August, and on Monday afternoon, 31st of July, His Royal Highness Prince Arthur arrived at Newport, having commenced his journey the same morning from Windsor.

NEWPORT, MONMOUTHSHIRE,

(In Welsh always called "Casnewydd").

RECEPTION OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ARTHUR.

His Royal Highness Prince Arthur, accompanied by his suite, arrived at Newport on Monday the 31st of July, at 2.10 p.m. His Royal Highness travelled in the royal saloon carriage appropriated to the Royal Family.

Preparations had been made here to receive His Royal Highness with due honour; the station was laid down with crimson cloth, and profusely decorated with flags, and numerous mottoes in Welsh. The Monmouthshire Volunteers were drawn up in military order, the artillery being under the command of Major Lyne. An arch was raised over the door of the station of laurel and roses, and the pillars elegantly entwined. The Prince was received by the Lord-Lieutenant of the county (Lord Llanover), who then presented to His Royal Highness the Mayor of Newport, who was in waiting with the Corporation, and had the honour of delivering the following address, which was graciously received:—

"TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ARTHUR.

"*The humble Address of the Mayor, Aldermen, Burgesses, and Inhabitants of the Borough of Newport, in the County of Monmouth.*

"May it please Your Royal Highness to receive the expression of joy of the Burgesses and Inhabitants of this ancient town on Your Royal Highness's passage through it, to represent Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, on the occasion of the Inauguration of the Statue of Your Royal Highness's illustrious Father, at Tenby, as the Memorial of all Wales, raised to his honour, and in commemoration of his virtues.

"Your Royal Highness is now in the land of Gwent, and having entered Newport, in the Diocese of Llandaff, the most ancient of the four Welsh Bishoprics, it is my proud privilege, as Mayor of this town, to be the first to congratulate Your Royal Highness on your entrance into the Principality of Wales, and to express the loyal feelings of this Corporation, and the inhabitants of the borough, towards our beloved Sovereign, as well as our desire to show our respect to Your Royal Highness in your transit through Wales as Her Majesty's deputed representative."

(Signed by the Mayor on behalf of the Corporation.)

Lord Tredegar, Viscount Hereford, and Major Lyne having then been severally presented by the Lord-Lieutenant, a circular tray of fruit and other light refreshments, on a glass service imbedded in roses, was brought to Lord Llanover, who himself offered it to the Prince, who received it in the carriage, and the train again started with His Royal Highness, (who was accompanied by Lord Llanover,) on his further progess towards Pembroke-Dock to pass the night, previous to his entrance into Tenby for the Inauguration of the Welsh Memorial, as representative of the Queen. Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm of the reception of His Royal Highness Prince Arthur at Newport, on his entrance into the Principality.

After His Royal Highness's departure, the following reply, in writing, was received by the Mayor and Corporation of Newport:—

PRINCE ARTHUR'S REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE CORPORATION OF NEWPORT.

"I must return you my best thanks for the address which you have presented to me on my passage through Newport.

"The Queen, my dear mother, will, I am sure, be much gratified by the loyal expressions contained in your address, which I shall not fail to report to her.

"ARTHUR.

"To the Mayor, Aldermen, Burgesses, and Inhabitants of the Borough of Newport."

On His Royal Highness's arrival at Narberth Road Station, Lord Llanover took leave of His Royal Highness, and entering a carriage waiting for him, proceeded to Tenby, where he was soon actively engaged in assisting all those who were preparing for the Royal Reception, 1st August, and the Inauguration of the following day. His Royal Highness Prince Arthur meanwhile

proceeded to Pembroke-Dock, where, according to Her Majesty's arrangement, he was to pass Monday night, to enable him to inspect the many objects of interest there the following day.

NEW MILFORD AND PEMBROKE DOCK-YARD.

Prince Arthur arrived at New Milford at 6.50 on Monday evening, where the reception accorded to His Royal Highness was highly creditable to the loyal feeling of the inhabitants, but there was no unnecessary detention of the fatigued Royal traveller, who had by that time traversed three hundred miles since breakfast, and therefore no presentation of addresses. As the train moved slowly into the terminus of the South Wales Railway at New Milford, the band of the 62nd Regiment, which had arrived there previously as a guard of honour to His Royal Highness, played the National Anthem. A party of men of the same regiment presented arms as the royal saloon carriage drew up to the platform. Captain Superintendent W. Loring, C.B., received His Royal Highness, and conducted him to the floating pier, where a royal barge was in readiness. His Serene Highness the Prince of Leiningen, K.C.B., captain of the royal yacht, received Prince Arthur on his arrival, and the royal party speedily embarked on board the barge, amidst the cheers of the people, who had congregated in large numbers on the shore and in boats, and on the word being given, the men "gave way" in splendid style, and made for Pembroke Dock-yard. They had hardly got clear of the pier, however, when H.M. ships *Blenheim* and *Saturn* commenced firing a royal salute, which was answered by the fort guns. In a few minutes the sailors in the barge rested on their oars, but when the firing had ceased resumed the voyage across the Haven. As they passed under the stern of the *Victoria and Albert*, the latter vessel dipped her colours. In a few minutes the Prince and his suite, with His Serene Highness the Prince of Leiningen and Captain Loring, landed at the Dock-yard steps, where they were received by a guard of honour of the Royal Artillery, under the command of Major Champion. The landing was a signal for a fresh salute from the guns of the Fortified Barracks, and His Royal Highness proceeded at once to the residence of Captain Loring, which he honoured with his presence during the night.

Great preparations had been made for His Royal Highness's reception by Captain Loring. A dinner, to which the officers of Her Majesty's ships of war had the honour of being invited, and also of the Royal Yacht, the officers of the regiments stationed at Pembroke, and the nobility and gentry of the district, was held at eight o'clock, to meet His Royal Highness, and there was a ball afterwards, for which purpose a splendid ball-room had been constructed, 150 yards long, and here were assembled the principal persons of the district, including, of course, those invited to the dinner. His Royal Highness entered the ball-room about ten o'clock, and remained until one, when he took his departure.

On Tuesday morning His Royal Highness inspected the Dock-yard, Barracks, &c., and in the afternoon went down the Haven in Her Majesty's surveying vessel *Asp*, and inspected the Hubberstone Point Fort. In the evening the Prince, accompanied by His Serene Highness the Prince of Leiningen, the Hon. Sir C. B. Phipps, Major Elphinstone, and the rest of his suite, left Pembroke-Dock, and proceeded to Tenby by the road, by which means they saw many objects of interest on their route. His Royal Highness Prince Arthur occupied the open carriage of Captain Loring.

TENBY.

On Tuesday, 1*st August*, Tenby might truly be denominated the "Town of Flowers," and the true description of the preparations for the entrance of Prince Arthur must appear like an Eastern tale; but yet such was the Welsh enthusiasm, that for miles round evergreens and flowers were supplied in such quantities, that to say "the streets were decorated with flags and banners" would give a poor idea of the reality. The town was literally clothed and draped with festoons of flowers, arches, and garlands; not a window without some testimony of welcome; and the flags and banners, and Welsh and English mottoes, were so numerous, that it would require pages to give a list of half the decorations in honour of the expected arrival of His Royal Highness Prince Arthur.

A few minutes after the appointed time (six o'clock), a single gun fired from the battery of the First Pembrokeshire (Tenby) Volunteers, announced the arrival of the Royal visitor within a short distance of the town, and shortly afterwards the open carriage containing His Royal Highness, with the Prince of Leiningen, and his suite, was seen approaching from the Pembroke Road, and he was met by hundreds who advanced to meet him on entering the town.

To describe the scene that presented itself from the entrance of the town to the Gate House Hotel baffles description. Every roof was filled and covered by persons eager to obtain a glimpse of him. The streets were one dense mass of loyal Welsh subjects honouring and bidding him welcome in both Welsh and English; while from the windows and house-tops such showers of bouquets descended upon the Prince that, had he proceeded much further, he would have required an empty carriage to convey the overflow of floral tributes; in fact the street was strewed with flowers that fell short of the equipage of the Royal Visitor. The Prince received all these demonstrations with the most winning smiles, repeatedly bowing, and standing up in the carriage, to show that nothing was lost upon him.

On the steps of the Gate House Hotel were in waiting to receive His Royal Highness the Mayor of Tenby, in his robes of office, attended by his mace-bearers, Mr. Mason, (Alderman of Tenby, and Secretary to the Memorial Committee,) with other members of the Corporation, the High Sheriff of the county of Pembroke, the Bishop of St. David's, Lord Llanover, Sir James Hamilton, Bart., Mr. Lort Phillips, M.P. for the county of Pembroke, &c., &c. As the carriage drove up to the hotel, a royal salute was fired from a battery of cannon on Caldy Island, to which a telegraphic signal had been made, the cheers of the populace rent the air, hats and kerchiefs were waved, and the sun shone out a cheerful welcome. In the midst of these demonstrations, graciously acknowledged, His Royal Highness alighted, and the Mayor was presented to His Royal Highness, who, after shaking hands with Lord Llanover, the Bishop of St. David's, and other gentlemen, was conducted by the Mayor to His Royal Highness's apartments, when the young Prince, observing that the crowds out of doors anxiously looked after him, came forward to one of the front windows and showed himself. Another deafening cheer was raised, and the people then dispersed.

A royal salute was fired by the Tenby Battery of the First Pembrokeshire Artillery Volunteers, under the command of Captain John Maule Sutton, from their 24-pounders, and the bells of St. Mary's Church commenced ringing a peal.

His Royal Highness invited to his private dinner in the evening a few of those who were present on his arrival. Among those who had the honour of being invited were,—His Serene Highness the Prince of Leiningen, the Bishop

of St. David's, Lord Llanover, the Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Monmouth, the Mayor of Tenby, J. H. Scourfield, Esq., M.P., Lord-Lieutenant of Haverfordwest, Sir Hugh Owen, Bart., M.P. for Pembroke, G. Lort Phillips, Esq., M.P. for the county of Pembroke, Thomas Meyrick, Esq., C. Allen, Esq., of Tenby, and the gentlemen in attendance on His Royal Highness, the Hon. Colonel Sir C. B. Phipps, and Major Elphinstone, but owing to the detention of the train, Sir Hugh Owen was unable to arrive before the dinner was over.

The rooms set apart for the use of His Royal Highness were the most complete suite that could be obtained. The hotel faces the sea, commanding a fine view of the bay of Caermarthen, and up the channel as far as Llanelly, taking in the promontory of Gower, while the opposite coast of Devon is clearly discernible. Nearly fronting the windows is the Castle Hill, on which the Monument to His Royal Highness's lamented father stands. The front of the hotel was literally clothed with flags, the Royal Standard occupying the place of honour in the centre.

At His Royal Highness's dinner, Gruffydd, Harper to the Right Hon. Lord Llanover, had the honour of playing Welsh airs on the triple harp; and after His Royal Highness withdrew to the drawing-room, Gruffydd was again sent for to play, and also to accompany a Welsh female singer, (by name Ann Jones,) who was attired in the national costume, and sung to the harp some of the mountain music of the Principality, with words in the Cymric language. It is worthy of remark that this celebrated Welsh Harper had the honour of playing to Her Majesty and the late Prince Consort, at Buckingham Palace, and also, in March last, to Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, at Marlborough House.

DECORATIONS.

It would be impossible to give a list of the decorations—they were literally innumerable—both Welsh and English; but among the most remarkable were the triumphal arches at the entrance to the town in the Norton, opposite the Church, and another on entering the Castle Hill. Garlands of evergreens and flowers were stretched across the street in the Norton, at the Lion and Cobourg Hotels, at the bottom of Tudor Place, at the top of St. Julian Street, at 3, Rock House, at the Nelson Inn, and at St. Julian House.

Among the Welsh mottoes were,—

"Duw gadwo'r Frenhines," *(God save the Queen).*

"Hir oes i'r Tywysog Arthur," *(Long life to the Prince Arthur).*

"Croesaw i'r Tywysog," *(Welcome to the Prince).*

"Llwyddiant i'r Tywysog Arthur," *(Prosperity to the Prince Arthur).*

"Er Coffadwriaeth am Albert Dda," *(In Remembrance of Albert the Good).*

"Cymru dros byth," *(Wales for ever).*

"Croesaw i Dref Dinbych y Pysgod," *(Welcome to the Town of Tenby).*

"Hir oes i'r Ail Arthur Brenhinol," *(Long life to the second Royal Arthur).*

Among the English mottoes, amidst many "Welcomes" to Prince Arthur, were "Long live Prince Arthur," "God save the Queen," "To Memory Dear," &c., &c.

To describe all the devices would also be impossible; but among the most imposing and conspicuous were the Red Dragon Rampant of Wales, and the Arms of Wales, in the Banqueting-room, and also on the Royal Pavilion for the Inauguration, with the other bearings of Great Britain, and the Royal Standard. A handsome white silk flag, nine feet long, was borne in the pro-

cession, with the arms of Tenby beautifully emblazoned upon it, expressly for the occasion, by Mrs. Gwynne. Another flag of the same size adorned the Banqueting room, painted by the same lady. Upon it were the Royal arms, the arms of the Prince of Wales, and the arms of Denmark; also, the crest of Wales, a Dragon passant on a mount vert. A stand for ladies was erected at St. Julian House, festooned with evergreens, and wreathed with flowers, surmounted by flags and devices, among which were a celestial crown with "A Good Name is better than Riches," and, "The Memory of the Just is Blessed." The Red Dragon of Wales, the Leek, the Prince of Wales' Plume, and the Union Jack, on separate flags and banners, at the Library (Mr. Mason's). The balcony of C. Allen, Esq., was covered with scarlet cloth, and surmounted with flags. The vessels in Tenby Harbour had all colours flying. The entrance tower of Tenby Castle was covered with evergreens, and the Keep with flags.

THE PROCESSION.

The town early on Wednesday morning, 2nd August, was again alive with preparations for the forthcoming ceremony. Although the weather had been threatening in the morning, the day proved fine, and the streets through which the Prince's route lay were still more profusely ornamented with flags and evergreens, and garlands across the streets.

Shortly after twelve o'clock the procession left the Gate House Hotel and proceeded to the Castle Hill. The streets were filled with an immense concourse of people, who had arrived from all parts of the Principality, but more particularly belonging to South Wales, vessels from the adjacent ports bringing in crowds of loyal Welsh subjects from the neighbouring coasts, and also the trains of the previous evening.

The Band of the 62nd Regiment.

Guard of Honour, 62nd Regiment,

Commanded by Major Gwynne.

Tenby Artillery Volunteers,

Commanded by Captain John Maule Sutton.

Pembroke-Dock Artillery Volunteers,

Commanded by Captain Edgecombe Chevallier.

Haverfordwest Volunteer Rifle Corps,

Commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Xavier Peel.

Pembroke Volunteer Rifle Corps,

Commanded by Lieutenant N. A. Roch.

Llanelly Volunteer Rifle Corps,

Commanded by Captain W. H. Nevill.

Castlemartin Yeomanry Cavalry, Mounted,

Commanded by Major Baron de Rutzen.

Banner, Arms of Tenby.

Banner, Arms of Prince Consort.

Banner, Ancient Arms of Wales.

Trumpeters.

Javelin Men.

Mace Bearers.

Sculptor.

Architect and Contractor.

Subscribers.

Memorial Committee.

Magistrates.

Clergy.

Mayors of Corporate Towns of Wales, in their Robes of Office.

Sheriffs of Welsh Counties.

Lord-Lieutenants of Welsh Counties.

Bishop of St. David's.

His Royal Highness

PRINCE ARTHUR,

Accompanied by His Serene Highness the Prince of LEININGEN and Suite, in the open carriage belonging to T. Meyrick, of Bush, Esq., drawn by Bay Horses.

Mounted Yeomanry.

Among the airs arranged for the Band of the Tenby Artillery Volunteers on this occasion were two of the oldest and most beautiful Welsh marches to quick time, viz., "Blodau 'r Grûg," (*The Flowers of the Heath*,) and "Cyntaf o Awst," (*The First of August*,) which date seems to have been peculiarly propitious to Wales, and was the day of Prince Arthur's arrival in Tenby.

The procession, on its arrival at the Castle Hill, proceeded to the Memorial, when the bands played "God save the Queen," the guard of honour, consisting of a detachment of the 62nd Regiment, and the Volunteer Corps, presented arms. The procession then went round the statue, and His Royal Highness Prince Arthur took his place in the front of the richly decorated Pavilion appropriated to his use, where also was His Serene Highness the Prince of Leiningen, also the Bishop of St. David's, the Lord-Lieutenants, Sheriffs and Mayors of Wales, and the Ven. Archdeacon of St. David's, who, still very unwell, had with difficulty made the effort of attending. Sir C. B. Phipps presented the Archdeacon to His Royal Highness Prince Arthur, who kindly and graciously expressed concern for his illness, and hope for his speedy recovery.

The Mayor, who is also the Chairman of the Memorial Committee, then delivered the following address:—

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,—We, the contributors to the erection in Tenby of a Memorial Statue of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort, approach Your Royal Highness with sentiments of loyal and dutiful attachment to the person of our gracious Sovereign the Queen, and to Her Royal House. It is with feelings of the liveliest pleasure that we see among us a son of the illustrious Prince whose memory the Statue to be now inaugurated is designed to honour. And we desire humbly to express our grateful sense of deep obligation to Her Majesty for the two-fold favour She has conferred upon us; first, in having been graciously pleased to give the sanction of Her approbation to the erection of the Memorial now to be unveiled to public view; and next for allowing Your Royal Highness to act as Her representative on this occasion. By the liberality of an individual

contributor we have been enabled to erect this Memorial on a site possessing, in an eminent degree, the advantage of being at once singularly conspicuous, and of perfectly easy access. As a work of art, we trust that it may be found not unworthy of the favourable judgment of Her Majesty; and however unequal every such monument must be to the dignity of the subject, it will, at least, as we hope, be for generations to come a witness to the affectionate loyalty of THE WELSH PEOPLE, to their respectful sympathy with the private sorrow of their Queen, and to their just appreciation of the noble qualities and the great public services by which Your Royal Highness's illustrious Father won the admiration and gratitude of the country."

His Royal Highness then delivered the following reply:—

"MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN,—I hardly know how to thank you, as I could wish, for your kind address. How deeply it would have touched and pleased my dear Mother, could she have been here herself, to witness, in the reception which I, as her son, have this day met with, the proof of the unshaken loyalty and affection of her Welsh subjects; and, above all, to trace in the noble work of art to be now uncovered, such gratifying evidence of their reverence for the great and noble qualities of my beloved Father, and appreciation of his great public services. I shall never forget this day, nor your kind welcome; and I shall ever think, with pride and pleasure, of having been allowed, young as I am, to represent my dear Mother on this most interesting occasion." (Great applause.)

The Bishop of St. David's then offered up the following prayer:—

"ALMIGHTY GOD, Fountain of all wisdom, Author and Giver of all good things, we humbly beseech Thee to bless the occasion on which we are now assembled, and the work which has been finished in this place. Be Thou graciously pleased so to prosper it by the over-ruling of thy good Providence, that it may fulfil the ends for which it was designed. May this memorial of departed excellence serve to impress us who are here present with a deeper sense of gratitude to thy fatherly goodness for one of the most precious of all the gifts Thou hast bestowed on our age and nation: the gift of one, who while he lived among us, was thy willing and untiring minister to us for good, and never ceased to devote all the means and faculties with which he was endowed to thy service and the promotion of public welfare. May this image of his outward form help to keep alive in those who shall come after us, a thankful remembrance of this great blessing, and of those which have flowed from it: and above all may it contribute to diffuse the lustre of a bright example, to cherish the love of virtue and reverence for duty, to kindle generous thoughts and lofty aspirations, and animate kindred spirits to live labourious days for the common weal, and to seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, not by the strivings of a selfish ambition, but by patient continuance in well-doing. We implore thy blessing on our beloved Queen, her person and her throne. Grant that her reign may be prolonged in prosperity, peace and happiness: and that amidst the cares and trials of her high station, and under the weight of her irreparable loss, she may be enabled to stay her mind on Thee, and may be sustained, strengthened, and refreshed by the consolations of thy Holy Spirit.

"Bless the Prince and Princess of Wales, and all the members of the Royal Family, that in their several spheres they may more and more fulfil the fondest hopes of a loyal and affectionate people, and more and more approve themselves worthy of their glorious parentage. These things we ask in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen."

One of the finest effects was now beheld that it is possible to conceive. The young Prince raised his hand as a signal, and in less time than words can describe, the Royal Standard (which was alone used to cover the

Memorial, and in which it was completely enveloped) appeared suddenly to unwrap itself as if by magic, and the Statue was disclosed in all its majesty, whilst the Royal Standard, which had before dropped entirely over it, was by a strong breeze spread out in the air over and above the figure of Prince Albert, and seemed a fitting emblem of the never-ceasing affection of our Sovereign Lady the Queen towards her illustrious Consort. At this moment the sun shone brilliantly on the head and face of the Statue of the Prince, and as this occurred, it was impossible not to be struck with the countenance of the youthful Prince Arthur, as well as with the expression of those who immediately surrounded him. There was on that of His Royal Highness a blended expression of surprise and satisfaction at the beautiful spectacle before him, with individual, though suppressed emotion, which struck all beholders, and which was more or less reflected by the looks of those who, standing near him, felt that the friend of all, as well as the father of Prince Arthur, could not longer be seen on earth otherwise than beheld in the admirable representation of him then disclosed, and lit up by a bright gleam of sunshine. The expanse of sea and shore, the town beneath, and the rocks covered with spectators—even the top of the Church tower surrounded by human beings—and the young Prince standing in front of his Royal Father's image, altogether produced a scene never to be forgotten, during which several of the spectators shed tears.

It was afterwards observed by those who had witnessed the Inaugurations in other parts of the United Kingdom, that they believed this was the first time the Royal Standard had ever been used as the covering of the Statue —and the effect was truly sublime. The idea was that of the Sculptor, Mr. Evan Thomas, who said "no meaner drapery should be thrown over the Statue of Prince Albert," and who undertook, with the assistance of the Coast-Guardsmen, to carry this fine conception into effect—the success of which was complete.

Next to the Memorial itself, Prince Arthur was naturally the greatest object of attention, as all were struck and delighted with his quick intelligence, and unaffected though still regal dignity of manner and deportment, his clear and harmonious voice, and the intellectual cast of his countenance, all combined to win for him the affection, as well as admiration, of those present.

The Royal Artillery, in the Croft Field, then fired a royal salute from their 40-pounder Armstrong guns, after which the Sculptor, Mr. Evan Thomas, had the honour of being presented by Lord Llanover to His Royal Highness Prince Arthur, who was graciously pleased to express his entire approval of the Statue, and to accept some fine photographic views of it. The procession then defiled round the Statue, and when Prince Arthur again arrived opposite to the front of the Memorial, he stopped, looked up for a moment or two, and read the Inscription with attention, after which the Rev. J. H. A. Philipps, of Picton Castle, was presented to His Royal Highness by Lord Llanover, when the Prince graciously thanked him for having given so beautiful a site for the Welsh Memorial of his lamented Father, and His Royal Highness, preceded by the procession, returned to the Gate House Hotel in the same order as that in which he had arrived.

It is proper here to notice the services of Mr. Thomas Rees, co-Honorary Secretary, who exerted himself most effectually in assisting in the arrangement of the procession, which was very well ordered, and had an excellent effect.

The Royal Pavilion was erected by Mr. Morris Phillips, but decorated, free of charge, by Mr. John Phelps, and Mr. John M. Henton.

The magnificent gilt state chair for the Prince's use was made by order of of the Mayor of Tenby, expressly for the occasion, and was covered with

crimson velvet. Miss Richards, of Croft House, Tenby, sent a number of other beautiful chairs, also gilt, and covered with crimson velvet, for the Prince's Pavilion.

THE BANQUET.

Between two and three o'clock a sumptuous Banquet was laid out at the Gate House Hotel, when the large Assembly Room, surrounded with galleries, was decorated in the most beautiful manner, three tables being laid out. The galleries were all bordered and festooned with flowers and evergreens, as well as the walls. Flags and banners hung also from the walls, and opposite the Prince the green and white banner of Wales, with the Red Dragon, was conspicuously displayed. There was also the National Emblem of Wales, the Leek, and numerous flags bearing appropriate Welsh mottoes. The table was splendidly decorated with green-house flowers and plants of great beauty, contributed by Miss Robson, of Penally, and small flags of different colours, silk and satin, which were placed the whole length of the table among the flowers, on which were "Cymru dros byth," (*Wales for ever,*) and "Croesaw i'r Tywysog Arthur," (*Welcome to Prince Arthur*). On each end of the room were large banners bearing the mottoes, "Clod i enw Albert Dda," and "Oes y Byd i'r Iaith Gymraeg," (*the age of the world to the language of Wales*). A dais was raised at the head of the room. The Mayor of Tenby, by virtue of his office, presided, and on the right of his Worship sat His Royal Highness Prince Arthur, and on his left His Serene Highness the Prince of Leiningen. On the right hand of Prince Arthur sat the Bishop of St. David's, and on the left hand of the Prince of Leiningen sat Lord Llanover. There were also at the same table, Sir Hugh Owen, Bart., M.P. for the Pembroke Boroughs, Sir James Hamilton, Bart., G. Lort Phillips, Esq., M.P. for the county of Pembroke, J. H. Scourfield, Esq., M.P. for Haverfordwest, &c., &c., besides the gentlemen in attendance on His Royal Highness, the Hon. Sir C. B. Phipps, and Major Elphinstone. There was also present the High Sheriffs of Caermarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, and Montgomeryshire; the Mayors of Caermarthen Haverfordwest, Brecon, Pembroke, Caerdiff, Newport (Monmouthshire), Newport (Pembrokeshire), Swansea, Neath, Cardigan, Denbigh, and the High Constable of Merthyr; Major-General Murray, Colonel Stepney, Lieut.-Colonel Mann, C. Allen, Esq., of Tenby, (Acting Vice-Chairman of Committee,) Archdeacon Allen, the Rev. J. H. A. Philipps, of Picton, and a number of the clergy of Wales, the principal officers of Her Majesty's Yacht, and the Honorary Secretaries, besides about two hundred of the principal inhabitants, including members of the Corporation of Tenby.

Gruffydd, the celebrated Welsh Harper, was placed in front of a gallery facing the Prince, and opposite the banner of the Red Dragon of Wales. He was in the national costume of a Welsh Harper of the fourteenth century, and his appearance was most picturesque, as with a masterly hand he swept the strings of his fine triple harp. On the entrance of His Royal Highness, and the Prince of Leiningen, he played "God save the Queen."

At the conclusion of the repast, the Mayor said,—

Your Royal Highness, my Lords and Gentlemen,—I have the honour to propose to you the health of Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen. This is a toast which is always first in our hearts, not less than in practice. No people have ever been favoured with so many blessings and privileges as we have had the happiness to enjoy during the long, the wise, and the beneficent reign of our beloved Queen, Victoria,—a reign which has been hallowed by the holy life and wise counsels of the great and good Prince whose memory

we are assembled to commemorate. May Her Majesty long be spared to rule over a devoted and contented people, and to be a guide and guardian to her numerous family. It is with every feeling of respectful loyalty, gratitude, and affection, that I propose to you the health of Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen.

Air { *Duw Gadwo'r Frenhines.*
{ God Save the Queen.

The Lord Bishop of St. David's then rose, and turning to His Royal Highness Prince Arthur, said,—

Your Royal Highness, Mr. Mayor, and Gentlemen,—I have been intrusted with a part in the present proceedings which I should have been very loath to undertake, honourable as it is, if it had not been imposed upon me by the accidental absence of others, to whom it would have been more fitly assigned. It is to give some imperfect utterance to the feeling which pervades the minds, not only of this company, but of all those who have witnessed the solemnity of this morning, with respect to the memory of the illustrious person whom we have met to honour. I feel that it is a task involving peculiar difficulties, inasmuch as the subject is one on which it is difficult not to say either too much or too little; on which it is scarcely possible to say anything that is new, and extremely difficult to do justice to that which is universally known. There is one consideration by which I am a little cheered and encouraged under this disadvantage, and it is that the subject is one which offers no temptation, and scarcely affords room, for anything like exaggeration or unreality; and whatever I may say in the few remarks I have to address to you, will, I am quite sure, be no more than every one present knows and feels, however they may fall short of so great a theme, to be at least perfectly true. There is one aspect of this subject which I think deserves particular notice upon this occasion, not only because it is intimately connected with the ceremony in which we have been engaged, and because it appears to me to show the peculiar fitness and propriety of such a celebration, but also because I believe it is one on which there prevails some degree of haziness and indistinctness in the public mind. We have probably all heard it observed that the great worth and merit of the Prince Consort was never fully appreciated in his lifetime. I believe that to be perfectly true; and the only question is how it is to be explained. It is not I believe at all on the principle which is represented by the Roman satirist as the habitual tendency of human nature:—

"Virtutem incolumem odimus
Sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi."

That is—virtue, the virtue which, while it is present and prospering we envy and dislike, when it is withdrawn from our sight becomes the object of our regret. That was not at all the case with regard to the question we are considering. From his first arrival in this country, the Prince Consort never ceased to be the object of high respect and good will; and we all know that the longer he lived the more he endeared himself to the affections of the people, and the higher he rose in their esteem; but nevertheless it is true that before we had suffered that great loss we did not know generally, did not fully understand and appreciate, that which we have now lost. I believe the explanation to be most simple and certain, though perhaps it has not occurred to all of us. The fact was that in consequence of his eminent position he was indeed as much withdrawn from public view, as if his lot had been cast in the lowest and most obscure condition of society. It is true we saw him appear, and to the greatest advantage, on many public occasions, and the oftener he appeared the more was he beloved and admired; but his social position was such as to prevent his great merits from being known and appreciated beyond

a very limited circle. Now, when such a man, one who moved so silently and obscurely in the constant prosecution of great works, and the performance of public services, has been, by the inscrutable dispensations of Providence, prematurely taken away, there is a peculiar fitness and propriety in the most public demonstration of the national gratitude, admiration, and regard. In the present instance, that feeling must be the stronger, because there is, as I think, too much reason to believe that the constitution of the Prince Consort might have been able to resist the disorder under which he sank, if that constitution had not been in some degree enfeebled and temporarily unstrung by his watchings and labours in the public service. I have alluded to the many services of the Prince whom we have lost, which on the present occasion it is hardly possible to avoid doing, and I may perhaps be permitted for a few moments to touch upon some of the most salient points of those services in a very general point of view. The Prince Consort was placed in an eminent position, at the very summit of society, from which there was spread before him, as on a map, all the various wants, interests and movements of this vast community, over which he was called upon in some degree to preside. Other men may have filled a like position ; but very few I believe have ever filled it in the same manner. I believe it may be truly said that the use which the Prince made of that eminence was to be constantly inquiring how he could bring the means and opportunities which that station afforded him to give the most effectual aid to every good cause that was going on throughout this kingdom. He had the largest conception of the work which it was in his power to do, and he was bent on doing it in the very best manner. It is only for the sake of illustration that I would remind you how he encouraged science, literature, and art. His was not the condescending patronage of an indifferent and uninterested person. He was the genuine lover and successful cultivator of science, literature and art. But yet he did not view those subjects with the eye of a man of science, of literature, or of art, but he viewed them all in relation to the public good and to the general interests of society, and valued them to the extent and in the measure in which they were serviceable to that object. But deep as was the interest he took in such matters, I will venture to say it was not equal to that which he felt for the physical, intellectual and moral improvement of the condition of the largest class of the community—the labouring class. This was the object that occupied his thoughts and studies perhaps beyond all others. He was not a mere passive and acquiescent patron of every undertaking that was set on foot for their benefit. Whether it was an improvement in their dwellings, absolutely necessary for their moral and intellectual culture, or the opening of places for healthy recreation, or establishments in which they would find the means of employing their leisure in the cultivation of their mind—on all these subjects he felt and showed the deepest interest. I must add that large as was the sphere he was called upon to fill with regard to the interests of this country, his views were not confined to the British empire, but extended as far as civilized society reached. There was a glorious vision that rose before his mental eye. It was one of the future in which the destructive ravages of war should be succeeded by peaceful and friendly competition between nations in useful arts and beneficent pursuits. That great idea filled his mind more I believe than it had ever done any mind before him; and he strove to realize it as far as it could be given to one man in one age to do so. Before I leave this subject I hope I shall not be thought guilty of any indiscretion or impropriety if I venture to say that there is another great service for which he has the strongest claim on our gratitude. If the members of the Royal Family, as they come successively into public view, justify the liveliest hopes of the nation for an indefinite prolongation of the happy relation which has

so long subsisted between the Sovereign and the people, we know we are mainly indebted for that great blessing to the man we are this day assembled to honour. I have been touching on the great works and public services of the Prince; but they, to my mind, are not so admirable as the principle from which they sprang: I mean the principle of duty. I dwell upon it for a moment the more willingly, because it is that which is capable of imitation in every sphere, and because it ennobles every sphere in which it is found. But there have been in our time two men who have been signal examples of that principle: one was the great soldier from whom your Royal Highness derives your name; the other the illustrious Prince to whom you owe your birth. The most prominent feature in the character of Arthur, Duke of Wellington, which has been noticed by every one of his biographers, was, that whatever he did was done with the noble simplicity of an entire unconsciousness and self-forgetfulness. The great achievements which changed the destiny of the world and secured the stability of the British Empire, and with which Europe and I may say the whole civilized world rang, were to his mind simply the response of obedience to the call of duty: the things which scarcely any other man could have done were to him those which he could not help doing. The same principle shows itself in the life of the Prince Consort in a different form, not less admirable but, perhaps I may venture to say, even more amiable and winning. In him was verified, illustrated, and I may say embodied, the motto of his Ducal House, "Treu und Fest." They are words which it is easier to paraphrase and explain than to render by any terms which the English language can supply; but I think I may say that the first signifies a devotedness of attachment to a worthy object; the second a strenuous perseverance in pursuit of and adhesion to it. These two qualities are the necessary complements of one another, and when combined I think they make up a perfect character. For what is virtue but the love of good, intense in its force, and steady in its perseverance? These two men were worthy to live in the same day: they understood and appreciated one another. The Duke of Wellington as we know fully appreciated the character of the Prince; and from the Prince Consort all here must be aware that the Duke of Wellington received, in the relation which he was permitted to contract in the person of your Royal Highness, the most signal mark of honour and esteem which it was possible for a Sovereign to bestow upon a subject. I have now only to apologize for having detained you so long; and I will add but one single word. When the second of those great monuments of that grand conception of the Prince Consort to which I have alluded, was opened for the reception of the treasures of industry and art which flowed into it from all parts of the civilized world, we know with how deep a gloom that solemnity was overcast by the felt absence of him in whom the whole work originated. That feeling was expressed by our Poet Laureate in lines which were wafted on the wings of music through the vast building, and which gave utterance to the thoughts and feelings which pervaded every bosom—

> "O silent father of our kings to be,
> Mourn'd in our golden hour of jubilee,
> For this, for all, we weep our thanks to thee."

It is in a like spirit and with such a feeling that I invite this company to pay a silent homage to the memory of Albert the Good.

The desire was responded to by solemn silence, which was after a minute's pause broken by the plaintive melody of the Welsh Harp sounding mournfully the appropriate, very ancient, and touching Welsh air of

Cwynfan Prydain.
The Lamentation of Britain,

which has been often played on the same national instrument in Wales in times of sorrow in centuries past.

The Mayor then said,—

Your Royal Highness, my Lords and Gentlemen,—I have now the honour to propose to you the health of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales. I believe that at no period in the history of this country have the people taken greater or more affectionate interest in any Royal pair than in the Prince and Princess of Wales, whose great anxiety to discharge the duties of their exalted station have won for them the gratitude and admiration of the country.

Air { *Codiad yr Haul.*
The Rising of the Sun.

The Mayor then said,—

My Lords and Gentlemen,—I now rise to propose the health of His Royal Highness Prince Arthur, whose presence among us we esteem with all the heartiness, cordiality, and affection of a loyal people. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to Her Majesty for deputing His Royal Highness to represent her on this solemn and yet most interesting occasion, and especially we owe a debt of gratitude, affection, and remembrance to His Royal Highness for the readiness with which he has come among us, and assisted us in doing honour to the memory of that great and good Prince, his father. I am sure I express the feelings of all Welshmen, when I say that we hope to have many opportunities hereafter of seeing him amongst us. I can truly say that His Royal Highness has won all our hearts, and for ever endeared himself to us. (Great cheering.) The Right Reverend Prelate has referred to the name of the illustrious young Prince whose health I am now proposing, recalling to our minds the great General whose life of duty he has so well described; but I may venture to remark that Arthur is a name peculiarly dear to us as Welshmen, and a name which has been handed down to us in the pages of the historian, and the songs of the bards—and I venture to say that his Royal Highness Prince Arthur will also ever live in the hearts and affections of the people of Wales. I therefore ask you to drink the health of His Royal Highness Prince Arthur.

Air { *Triban Caerphili.*
The Caerphili March.

The toast was received with great enthusiasm, His Royal Highness bowing his acknowledgments. When it had subsided,

His Royal Highness rose, and in a clear and distinct voice, spoke as follows:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you most heartily for the kind manner in which you have received these toasts, and I am much obliged for the kind attention which has everywhere been shown to me in South Wales. The Queen has commanded me to propose the health of "Her loyal Welsh People." (Deafening applause.)

Air { *Triban Morgan.*
Morgan's March.

The toast having been duly honoured, Lord Llanover rose and said,—

May it please your Royal Highness, my Lord Bishop, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In compliance with the request of the Mayor, I rise to respond to the toast which your Royal Highness has just given—a toast which, I can venture to say, not merely touches the heart of every Welshman here present, but which will be treasured in the memory of thousands of "Her Majesty's loyal Welsh people," and be recorded from generation to generation. I should, indeed, be insensible, if I did not greatly prize the privilege I now enjoy, of endeavouring to express the gratitude of my countrymen now

present, as well as those not in the room, for this proof of the Queen's remembrance of us in the toast which, by Her Majesty's gracious command, your Royal Highness has just given. But I also feel deeply the impossibility of finding words of sufficient power to express the feelings of the Welsh people, whose unvarying loyalty affords the best proof of their devoted attachment to Her who is not merely their hereditary ruler, but who is the Sovereign of their affections. The Cymry not only respect and obey—but they love—their Queen, and in the Inauguration of the Memorial which has taken place this day, we are especially reminded of that illustrious and ever to be lamented Prince whom she selected as Her Consort, by which act she conferred a real blessing upon Her subjects, which the Welsh have to acknowledge in common with the other numerous races that people Her Majesty's dominions. The influence of the Prince Consort was naturally felt throughout the whole length and breadth of those vast dominions; it was an influence so good—so mild—so just—so wise—that when it ceased to exist, the loss was universally deplored, and a blank was created which can never be supplied. Before I conclude, I beg to be also permitted to notice some of the remarkable circumstances and coincidences connected with this occasion. In the first place, the propitious circumstance of the presence of a Prince who bears the name of Arthur—that name so truly dear to Welshmen, from the earliest period of British history (for I mention that name in a different sense, and under another association, to that alluded to by the Right Reverend Prelate, the Bishop of St. David's); and it is indeed a remarkable coincidence that it was on this very shore, 384 years ago, that Henry of Richmond landed in this month of August, within four days of the present date, soon after which the Battle of Bosworth Field was fought, when the banner of the Red Dragon of Wales, ever foremost in the fight, led on the Welsh to victory. (Hear, hear, and cheers). I see that that noble Dragon has not been forgotten in the decorations of this room. It has been the emblem of staunch support of the Throne, and is still the crest and the banner of the Principality. And it is most remarkable that the worthy Mayor who now presides at this banquet is the lineal descendant of *the White*, in this town of Tenby, who rendered most important services to Henry of Richmond, who was afterwards one of the greatest sovereigns of the Tudor dynasty. (Loud cheers.) I could cite many instances to show that Tenby, and the county of Pembroke, are most particularly associated with the historical annals of Wales, and its selection for the solemn ceremony of this day is rendered still more appropriate by its being within the diocese of St. David's, and not far from the Cathedral of the Titular Saint of the Principality of Wales. Once more, in the name of my countrymen, I beg to thank your Royal Highness for the toast thus graciously given, and I beg also to offer our humble duty to the Queen, with the assurance of the devoted attachment of Her Majesty's "Loyal People of Wales." (Loud and long continued cheering.) Happily we live in less troublous times than those early periods in our history to which I have adverted, and we are not called upon to serve the State in precisely the same way as our ancestors; but we have still duties to perform in the various positions to which it has pleased God to call us. We must all be glad to see the Mayor of Tenby come forward in the way in which he has done on this occasion, and with the permission of His Royal Highness I will propose "The health of the Chairman of the Memorial Committee, Mr. George White, Mayor of Tenby." (Tremendous cheering).

Concluding Air { *Triban Gwyr Harlech.* The March of the Men of Harlech.

The Mayor then rose and said,—

Your Royal Highness, my Lords and Gentlemen,—I beg to thank you

most gratefully and sincerely for drinking my health so warmly, and I also beg to thank Lord Llanover for the kind and complimentary manner in which he has referred to me. I can assure His Royal Highness, the noble Lord, and the Gentlemen present, that not only to myself, but to every member of the Committee, it has been a labour of love—(loud cheers)—to do all in our power to make the Memorial which we have this day inaugurated worthy of the great and good Prince whose memory it is intended to honour, and also of Her Majesty's LOYAL WELSH PEOPLE,—and however unequal every such Monument must be to the dignity of the subject, it will show to generations to come how truly grateful those people were for the services rendered to the country by the lamented Prince Consort, whose memory will ever be held in veneration, and it will also be a lasting testimony of our sympathy with the private sorrow of our Queen. (Loud applause.) I very respectfully and gratefully thank you all for your kindness, and for your attendance here to-day.

His Royal Highness and suite returned to his apartments at the Gate House Hotel, and shortly afterwards left in the open carriage of T. Meyrick, of Bush, Esq., for the railway station, and proceeded by train to Pembroke-Dock, a salute of 21 guns announcing his departure. His Royal Highness went on board the *Victoria and Albert* yacht the same evening, and returned to Osborne by sea. His Royal Highness's departure was marked by the same Welsh enthusiasm as his arrival.

Before his departure, His Royal Highness desired Sir C. B. Phipps to express to Mr. Gregory, the landlord of the Hotel, his satisfaction in the arrangements which had been made for him, and he also sent for the visitors' book, in which he wrote his name, and the date, after which the Hon. Sir C. B. Phipps, Major Elphinstone and Lord Llanover recorded their names.

As the day was a general holiday throughout the district, the streets of Tenby were thronged until night. Some of the steamers were late in departing, and their twinkling lights were visible far at sea long after sunset.

Thus ended the Inauguration of the Memorial of Wales—a lasting and honourable tribute to the virtues of Prince Albert the Good. This undertaking originated, as all projects must do, in the thought of an individual mind, and was matured, as most projects are, by the aid of a few coadjutors; and without any systematic plan of combined action with the other towns and counties of Wales, it grew into a national work by means of contributions from all quarters of the Principality by "HER MAJESTY'S LOYAL WELSH PEOPLE," the silver of the working classes, even more than the gold of the wealthy, testifying the real love of that ancient nation for their Queen, and for the household name of

ALBERT DDA.

THOMAS PRYS OF PLAS IOLYN.

The works of Thomas Prys, Esq., of Plas Iolyn, in Denbighshire, are preserved in the British Museum in a manuscript volume supposed to be written by his own hand. The volume, which was at one time in the possession of the well known antiquary Lewis Morris, contains the following address—"To the Reader"—by that writer and in his handwriting; and in the same hand there are several poems at the end of the book, which having been torn out, are supplied from other MSS. The handwriting of Prys is so cramped, and the ink so nearly obliterated in many parts, that it is extremely difficult to decipher any considerable portion of the book, except such parts as have been re-written by Lewis Morris.

The title, which is in the handwriting of Morris, runs thus:—"The Works of Thomas Prŷs *alias* Price of Plas Iolen Esquire. containing the History of the Ancient Britons from their first plantation to y^e^ time of Charles the first—A Geographicall description of Britain and its islands—A British Expositor—Gruffydd ap Cynans statute in relation to Poets—The art of Poetry—Grammar—Rhetorick—and a great number of poems wrote by y^e^ author upon different occasions: wit hmany other curious things worthy of notice."

The statement that the bard retired to the Isle of Bardsey, and built there a house out of the ruins of the old abbey, is without foundation, the error having in all probability arisen from a misconception of some passages in one of the poems contained in the volume.

The poems of Thomas Prys, which are upwards of a hundred in number, display very considerable poetical powers, and are well worth publication.

Hirlas.

TO THE READER.

Before you read this book it won't be improper to peruse the following account of it and the author, collected for the most part out of his own works.

Mr. Price was a gentleman of a plentifull fortune in Denbighshire. His chief seat was Plâs Iolen. His Father, Ellis Price Esquire is often mentioned as a great favourer of the Poets in Queen Elizabeths reign, by John Tudur and others.

Our author was in y^e^ Camp at Tilbury A.D. 1588 where he says the Queen came to them in person to oppose y^e^ great Spanish Armado.

She reigned afterwards about thirteen years, in which time he fitted out a privateer at his own charge, and cruized upon the coast of Spain for some time, but growing weary of that life, he came home and settled in his own estate. Whether before or after this it was that he built a house in the isle of Bardsey out of y^e^ ruins of y^e^ old monastery, I have not yet been informed. His cosin, Pirs Gruffydd of Penrhyn near Bangor was also a Buchanier at y^e^ same time. It seems it was Price that persuaded him to it, though he could not afterwards dissuade him from it, untill it became his ruin. Pirs Gruffydd died at London in the year 1628. above 60 years of age.

The British History is a translation out of some Latin or English historian untill he comes to his own time. It generally agrees as to facts with our British Historian Galfridus Monemuthensis, tho' vastly different as to style, and much shorter, this being full of Anglicisms common to this day in Denbighshire, and which get footing very fast in North Wales.

The British Expositor seems to be antienter than Dr. Davies's Dictionary, the Dictionary being published y^e^ very year this book was written (1632) and there are some words here not to be found in Dr. Davies.

The description of y^e^ islands is collected from several authors, antient and modern.

The form of calling together a congress of Poets A.D. 1524. (called Eisteddfod) and the account given of another A.D. 1576 is pleasant enough.

It is to be noted that Prince Gruffyd ap Cynans statute is not copied out of Dr. John Dafydd Rhŷs's Grammar, but from some Denbighshire manuscript, as appears from its Anglicisms. The examples in his "Art of Poetry" are entirely his own, and his grammar and Rhetorick are originals. He doth not copy after any of our grammarians that I know of in y^e^ former, nor after Henry Perri in y^e^ latter.

His catalogue of ingenious gentlemen, his contemporaries, skilfull in the British Poetry, and other parts of learning is a curious thing. His poems generally abound with wit and humour, and contain a great variety of history of his own times, for

between 40 and 50 years, most if not all of them being wrote before the first part of the book.

I find some of them wrote in y^e^ years 1589. 1606. 1607. 1608. 1610. 1619. 1628. 1632. and it is not improbable but that his love poems (which have no dates) were his first attempts. His incorrectness and carelessness in his orthography in writing prose must be attributed to his military and wandering life in his younger years.

Many more particulars of his life may be gathered from his Poems upon close reading; which I leave to y^e^ curious, if the book should ever happen to fall into such hands.

M^r^ Edward Llwyd[1] in his Archæologia makes honourable mention of our author, placing him with the famous Salesbury and Vaughan. See also p. 264 in his Catalogue of writers.

It may be perhaps doubted whether this book be really the handwriting of Mr Price y^e^ author: That I leave to a further enquiry tho' I have several reasons to think it is.

This is all y^e^ account my time will afford me to give of this book at present.

Therefore I remain the

Worlds most Humble Servant

[Lewis Morris[2]].

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

The Celtic mind was capable of the highest things. Welshmen had raised themselves to a pinnacle almost equal in every point to their English neighbours. One of the greatest conquerors of modern times—the Duke of Wellington—was a Welshman on his mother's side; Sir Isaac Newton the philosopher, Sir Hugh Middleton the engineer, Wilson the painter, Gibson the sculptor, Milton the poet, Griffith Davies the actuary—these all showed to what positions Welshmen could reach.—Rev. R. Jones.

Irish Alphabet.—At *ante* p. 22, M. de Gaulle states that "the alphabet which the Irish preserve, must have been brought to them by the Phœnicians, at a very ancient period." Now, I do not believe that the Irish possessed a knowledge of letters before the time of St. Patrick, and the introduction of Christianity into their country. Will M. de Gaulle kindly give his authority for the afore-mentioned assertion?—Q.

[1] Arch. Brit. p. 221. [2] The signature is omitted in the MS.

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The Cambrian journal

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